

The Woman's Protest

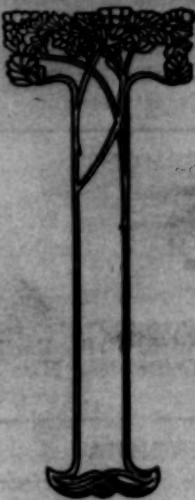
AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

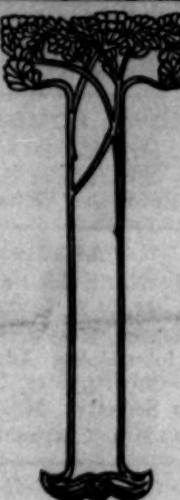
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MAY
1914



SUFFRAGIST CHARGE RETRACTED
"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY
THEY FIRST MAKE MAD"
FEMINISM AND FEMINISTS
PUBLIC OPINION ON VICE-PLAYS
THAT SUFFRAGISTS ENDORSE
"TIME TO HALT"—LINDSEY
POSSIBILITIES OF MORMONISM
A YEAR'S FRENZY OF MILITANCY
MRS. CATT'S REPUDIATION
TWO STUDIES IN PATRIOTISM
WOMAN'S WORK



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A SUFFRAGIST CHARGE RETRACTED

THE *Woman's Journal*, official suffrage organ, repeatedly prints statements regarding those opposed to suffrage without apparently taking pains to verify them. In the issue of April 11, 1914, it makes a false statement and an attack with no basis of fact on Miss Minnie Bronson, General Secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. We have ascertained the facts and herewith present them.

THE STATEMENT

THE statement from the *Woman's Journal* was headed "New Light Shed on Miss Bronson. Leading Anti-Suffrage Speaker Opposed Local Option in New Jersey," and read:

"An interesting incident in Miss Bronson's career has just come to light. New Jersey is a very wet State. Thus far all attempts even to secure a local option law have failed. In the country at large most of the people who do not favor State-wide prohibition believe that any locality has a right to vote out saloons if the majority of the men choose to do so; but it seems that Miss Bronson does not think so, as she spoke at a legislative hearing against the local-option bill when it was pending in New Jersey several years ago.

"Mrs. T. E. Bodine, of Plainfield, N. J., head of the Evangelistic Department of the New Jersey W. C. T. U., writes to Mrs. W. H. Stokes, of 9 Vought Avenue, Freehold, N. J.:

"It was at Trenton in March, 1908, that I heard Miss Bronson speak before the committee on local option. She certainly spoke against the measure, and from her argument I presume that she was engaged by the Liquor Dealers' Association, since she seemed to represent them."

"Comment would be superfluous."

THE TRUTH

AFTER the publication had been brought to her attention Miss Bronson made the following statement:

"I was never in Trenton until I appeared for the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in 1912. Never spoke at any hearing there except in opposition to woman suffrage."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor at Washington, under date of April 22, 1914, made this official report:

"I beg to say that the daily reports made by Miss Minnie Bronson state that she was in Augusta, Ga., on March 1, 2 and 3, 1908.

"This is, I believe, the information you desired to secure.

"ETHELBERT STEWART,
"Acting Commissioner of Labor
Statistics."

The official representative of the Anti-Saloon League of New Jersey, writing from Newark, N. J., April 22, 1914, says:

"Confirming my reply to your inquiry over the telephone, the public hearing on the Crosby Local Option Bill was held at Trenton on March 2, 1908. No woman spoke against the bill, and, in fact, in all our experience we have never known a woman to appear at a hearing against any temperance measure or in favor of any liquor bill.

"SAMUEL WILSON,
"Assistant Superintendent."

Miss Bronson has had an interesting and varied career, as the following items will prove.

Graduated from Upper Iowa University with degree of A.B., receiving degree of Master of Arts from the same institution, 1892.

Teacher of Mathematics in St. Paul, Minn., High School, from 1889 to 1899.

Assistant in the Department of Education of the U. S. Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900.

Director of the Educational Department of the Pan-American Exposition of 1901.

Superintendent of Elementary and Secondary Education at the St. Louis Exposition, 1904.

Secretary of the U. S. Jury of Awards at the Liege Exposition of 1905.

Delegated by the U. S. Bureau of Education to report the Educational Congresses held in Belgium, 1905.

Chief of Department of Social Economy, Jamestown Exposition, 1907.

Special Agent of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, to investigate the conditions of labor of women and children, 1907-1909.

Special Agent U. S. Department of the Interior, Alaskan Exhibit, Seattle Exposition, March-July, 1909.

Special Agent U. S. Bureau of Labor, to report on the strike of Shirt Waist Makers, January-June, 1910.

In the personal employ of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, July, 1910, to October, 1912.

Elected General Secretary National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, October, 1912, and re-elected to this position at Annual Meeting of the National Association, December, 1913.

THE RETRACTION

THE following are extracts from letters of Mrs. T. C. Bodine to Mrs. A. M. Dodge:

"PLAINFIELD, N. J., April 15, 1914.

"If I was misinformed in regard to Miss Bronson and have taken another for her, it is only just that I regret it and am certainly very willing to so inform Mrs. Stokes, who has quoted me. I sat in the gallery at that local option hearing, and not personally knowing Miss Bronson may have been misinformed as to her identity."

"April 16, 1914.

"Since writing you yesterday, I conferred with the person who designated and seemed to identify the person as Miss Bronson at Trenton at the time you referred. Upon conference yesterday she was not positive and led me to think I had perhaps been misinformed and at once I wrote Mrs. Stokes to that effect."

"April 25, 1914.

"MRS. A. M. DODGE.

"DEAR MADAM: Since convincing data has been brought to my attention that no woman spoke against the Crosby Local Option Bill at the hearing in Trenton March 2, 1908, I hereby retract the statement quoted from me in the *Woman's Journal* of April 11, 1914. I was misinformed and greatly regret the injustice done Miss Bronson.

"Yours truly,

"(MRS. T. C.) S. W. BODINE."

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Vol. V May, 1914 No. 1



The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

WE may be old-fashioned, but the recent revision of our Declaration of Independence and the parody on our national anthem gives us a queer feeling. In our thoughts they always go with the American flag. We read the manifesto with interest and consider it an extraordinary document. General comment would be superfluous, but we do challenge the statement that "The women of the United States have decided to have a Fourth of July of their own." It should read *the Suffragists of the United States, representing ten per cent. of the women.* Also in the revision we challenge the statement, "We, therefore, THE women citizens of the United States of America." It should read **SOME** women citizens.

EVEN war has its mission. Even this thing most dreaded by the citizens of any country bears along with its awfulness a message to the citizenship which we do not seem able in our present status to be impressed with except when war brings it to us.

And it is undoubtedly true that whether the present serious condition faced by this country in its Mexican relation results in real war or whether it is finally settled in some other way, it has brought its message to at least a part of the country.

And that is the command to loyalty to the American flag.

We Americans are somewhat ashamed usually of showing much sentimental emotion. We don't like to make a display of our affections. And we are quite right in our attitude that patriotism does not demand "jingoism," nor a spectacular demonstration of our pride in the red, white and blue. But we are apt to take a bit too much for granted in the way of other people's patriotism. It is hard for us to realize that there are people living in our land, earning their livings through the justice of its laws, thriving under its institutions, and obtaining all the richness of individual life which is possible here as nowhere else on the globe, perhaps, to the poorer man, who still scorn every emblem of the country which is supporting them.

When we hear of a riot on the city streets where some one like Reba Edelson declares that "the American flag is not fit to defend" we are horror struck. But we believe that is just one mad exclamation by an hysterical agitator. We forget to look

back of it at the brainier, calmer people who are teaching that doctrine. And we forget that much of what we dismiss with a smile as "vague theory" is demanding exactly that attitude on the part of all within hearing of the theorizing.

Our general attitude toward Socialists is that they are amiable, impractical people, with pretty little Utopian ideas which we know would not work out.

We forget that back of their cry that the State must include all institutions, all industries, all enterprises is the determination that the "State" which does that is not to be the "State" which means our country as we know it. We forget that fealty to country is an absolute negation on the part of the Socialists.

We forget that it is not only another economic plan the Socialists are promising, but it is another flag they are carrying.

We forget that the stars and stripes are never seen in a Socialist parade and that the members of the Socialist body consider the red flag **THEIR** banner.

Now we don't have to be a "jingo" or a George Cohan in order to know what the flag itself means as a symbol of the unity of this country. We don't have to be a shoutér for red fire and the screaming eagle in order to know that any body of people who are working to undermine the influence of that flag and the feeling of reverence for it are working against the best interests of this country.

But we don't realize all that until some big, dramatic thing like war wakes us from our dozing acceptance that economic and political difference is all that there is between the Socialists and the rest of us.

And then we do wake up. We know to-day more of the danger of socialism than we did a month ago. Because the sight of our own flag in time of war menace gave us a sudden insight into what it all meant—and would mean in the future—if we continued to doze.

The cause of socialism has been set back ten years at least by the cry of war. It has been set back twenty years by the threat of the I. W. W. and their activities at this time and by the fact that in New York City at least that anarchic body was addressed and coached in their law-breaking, their treason by such prominent Socialists as Max Eastman.

Now there is one more side to this question. And that is our own narrower, but no less deep, question of the woman suffrage cause.

The Suffragists have been crying for the past three years, "Certainly the Socialists are our friends. We welcome them, not only as individuals, but as a political party. Why shouldn't we?"

And the Socialist banner was carried in the suffrage parade in Washington last year, with no stars and stripes above it—the first time that has ever happened in our national capital in the history of the country.

And Socialists have been given honored places on the suffrage platforms.

Max Eastman himself, professional agitator and incitor to riot, editor of *The Masses*, appears under the auspices of the National Woman Suffrage party on the same platform with their official organizers.

Now "Why shouldn't they?"

Because the Socialists are not loyal American citizens; are something much more dangerous than mere theorizers; because if the suffrage women obtain the vote they will owe their victory to the Socialists and will be under vital obligations to them.

And because at the moment when a foreign enemy is attacking the flag of the United States of America, American citizens cannot afford to be allied in any way, cannot with patriotism give their approval to a body of people who are steadily working against it within our own boundaries.

And the shadow of war has brought all this home to us, as it would not have been brought in any other way. The sacrifices to it have not been all in vain.

LUCY J. PRICE.

"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY THEY FIRST MAKE MAD"

BY FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

WOMAN suffrage and feminism is a movement of abnormalities born of a cubist and futurist age of extremes. W. L. George, author of "Woman and To-morrow," says: "A state of society is approaching where man will not figure in the life of woman except as the father of her child."

Those who run may read and those who read modern suffrage literature are impelled to run in self-defense.

That the feminist-suffragist movement has fastened itself barnacle-wise upon the public interest is evidenced by the attitude of some of the leading magazines whose editors have granted space to subjects which formerly were considered unprintable. *The Century* has always made its appeal to a conservative body of readers, yet its November number contains a startlingly radical defense of the "Militant Woman." *The English Review*, which numbers among its contributors such authors as Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett, gives place to an article entitled "The Truth About Woman" by Mrs. Gallichan, who pleads for illicit relationship as follows: "I believe if there were some open recognition of these partnerships outside of marriage, not necessarily permanent, there would be many women ready to undertake such unions gladly, and would prefer them to the present marriage system that binds them to one partner for life. The recognition of these contract partnerships would prevent the ostracism which at present falls on the discarded mistress." Inez Milholland discusses "The Liberation of a Sex" in the February, 1913, *McClure's Magazine*. Editorially this publication endorses Miss Milholland as a qualified and competent feminist. A writer in *Harper's Weekly* of September 27, 1913, pleads the cause of the "Younger Suffragist" and the social revolution which she represents.

This new and startling theory as expressed by the feminist-suffragist is hostile to all that makes for stable civilization. That it is hostile to religion cannot be denied. Edna Kenton in her article in the *Century* declares: "Nothing invented of man has ever had a more stultifying effect upon the character and morals of women and of men than the Christian ideal which St. Paul laid down for women." That it is hostile to all-laws governing decency and morality is also undeniable when these radical theorists would prevent "the ostracism which at present falls on the discarded mistress" by ignoring the marriage contract, thus sacrificing the safeguard of all women and the legal protection of children in order to shield those women who have made a travesty of love and law, thereby creating a wholesale leveling of distinction between the virtuous and the *demi-monde*, at the same time placing legitimate and illegitimate children upon exactly the same basis, sacrificing the former to the latter. If this is not direct encouragement to immorality and vice, what is it? State motherhood, trial marriage, free divorce, anti-marriage, State care of children and sex teaching in the public schools—these are openly advocated by the suffragist-feminist. If such extreme and radical opinions are granted space in our most reputable periodicals the menace is unquestionably here, no dream of a few theorists, no negligible quantity, but an active, working, deadly force to be reckoned with.

Many Suffragists deny that woman suffrage means free love, the abolition of marriage, the subjugation of man and affiliation with socialism, but those speak only as individuals. The National Suffrage Association and the National College Equal Suffrage League both publish and circulate the writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman under such titles as "Motherhood Personal and Social," "The Larger Feminism," "Woman and Eco-

nomics," Miss Milholland's ultra-radical views, extracts from "The Free Woman," all of which articles have received stars of praise—from one to six—indicating the editor's approval of them. The writings of Belfort Bax, Karl Marx, William Morris, Alice Hyndman Rhine, Cicely Hamilton, Rheta Childe Dorr and many other equally well-known Socialists have been approved and circulated by the National Suffrage Association. Not once has that body, which represents the suffrage platform in this country, gone on record as repudiating the teachings of these writers. Not once from platform or in press has any suffrage leader denied sympathy with these beliefs.

"Polygamy, free love and the disruption of the home are to follow in the wake of woman suffrage," declared the Rabbi Joseph Silverman in his sermon at Temple Emanuel, New York, on March 22d. "There is no difference between woman suffrage, socialism and the present feminist movement," he averred. "The one means the other and, no matter which cause wins first, disaster to matrimony and the home will follow. At all hazards, we must oppose these movements; they are subversive to the best interests of the child and will destroy all that God and man have in the past years built up. I call upon you to rise in your might, to use every means at command to grapple with this, the greatest enemy we have to-day, and sweep it from the face of the earth."

W. S. Tully says "Certain it is that the dignity of woman is bound up with that indissoluble wedlock which alone is worthy the name of marriage. As certain is it that with the dignity of women is bound up all that is most precious in modern civilization. Glory and loveliness in art, in literature, in public and private life, will pass away with the passing of marriage."

Independence, both moral and economic, and freedom from all laws save that of self-direction is the war cry of the suffragist-feminist. The theory that all women are capable of self-direction will not bear investigation. The sad statistics of juvenile courts and reform schools give ample evidence of the fact that girls need parental guidance and control. Although ignoring the physical sex facts which exist and will continue to exist, the Suffragists will find themselves unable to eliminate them, for there are two insurmountable obstacles in the way—human nature and sex distinction—these are as unchangeable as the law of gravitation. "The moving finger writes and having writ, not all their feverish claims and hysterical demands can wipe out a line of it." It may be conceded that a revolution will sometimes overturn the forms of human government, but no force known to man can change the settled laws of nature and the processes of natural evolution.

"Breaking into the Human Race" is the title of a subject which was recently discussed at Cooper Union, New York, by six of the leading suffragist-feminists. Marie Janney Howe, Chairman of the meeting, complained: "We are sick of being specialized to sex; we do not put any fence around man. * * * And we merely want to take down the fence that has been put around us." The right of a woman to keep her own name was advocated by Miss Fola LaFollette.

"Then why should a woman take her husband's name? Tradition answers, 'Oh, that is different, she is a woman.' And if she loves the man and is willing to acknowledge him as her husband before the world, why should she not take his name? By the same token, if a man loves his wife and is willing to acknowledge her before the world, why should he not take her

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name? * * * Well, what about the children to-day? If the mother keep her own name and both the mother's and father's name were combined in the children's name, the mother would be more closely allied to her children through name than she is to-day. However, the question of what last name the children shall have is like the question of what first name the children shall be given, a question for settlement between the individual father and mother.

"What I suggest is that if Miss is the form of address for women before marriage, let it continue to be so after marriage. Let us cease to label women as maids or matrons. I think that when women come to take their own name simply and naturally, we shall have done much to shift the emphasis, the sickly emphasis at present on the sex status of women."

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, speaking on the effect of making marriage a profession, bewailed the fact that only one woman in sixteen kept a servant, the remaining fifteen-sixteenths were still in the parasitic condition of doing their own house-work—abject slaves to men. "Human beings," she declared, "believe their duty is far outside of merely being mothers; even a kitten could be a mother." This assertion rather offsets that of the Suffragists that the women who oppose them are thinking with pre-historic brains for "even a cat can be a mother" was quoted by Susan B. Anthony over fifty years ago, proving that ultra-modern Suffragists are still thinking with the brain of Susan B. Anthony. "This New Freedom," explained Mrs. Gilman, "is a highly diversified social service instead of merely service for one's own family," which interpreted may probably mean the art of minding everybody's business and neglecting one's own. "A male clerk, poring all day over his dreary column of figures, may not realize that his drudgery is higher than any service his wife may perform in her household and kitchen," declared Mrs. Gilman.

Dr. Annie Yates, in a recent suffrage meeting at Cincinnati, hailed with joy the alleged discovery of a scientist who claims to be able to determine the law of sex. "When this becomes generally known women can bear only girl babies," she declared gleefully.

It is obvious that this new code proposed for women by the feminists would deprive man of his home, his rights as husband and father, his position in the field of labor and lastly the crowning privation of a right to life itself which shall be utterly in the hands and at the option of women. Yet in the chivalry of man lies the Suffragist's hope of the ballot. Evidently they have forgotten the maxim, "Never twist the lion's tail while you've got your hand in his mouth."

Mrs. John Martin, in a debate on feminism under the auspices of the League for Political Education at New York, said: "Man, once the lord of creation, will be reduced to the surreptitious, subordinate status of the domesticated tom cat. Under the new order he is to lead a furtive existence with no organic relation to homes. He will be like the male bee in the hive whose main activities will be in the hands of self-supporting spinsters. Feminism would set woman free from what it calls sex domination and establish her as an unmarried mother on her own account. The goal of feminism is the commercialization of life, the disintegration of the home, and sooner or later we must range ourselves with the home or against it."

With all the feminist literature floating about the country the air is becoming vitiated and unbreathable. Every sacred mystery of life has been cheapened and profaned. All protective barriers of sanctity have been broken down. What will be the end?

If the wife and mother works she is a "domestic drudge," according to the Suffragists. If she does not work she is a parasite and kept by a man in a harem. The only escape from this horrible dilemma is to embrace spinsterhood and become a

Suffragette. The watchword of the old patriotism was "My Country," the new watchword is "My Sex."

Charlotte Gilman's picture of the home of the future is a father and mother going off daily to their work and returning at night to find the house cared for by experts while the children have spent an improving day at the communal nursery.

According to the suffragist-feminist opinion, the twenty centuries which have developed the Christian ideal of womanhood are a total failure. The single standard of morality demanded by them, when explained, is unmistakably a standard of immorality. We greatly prefer the old law of decency, legitimacy and self-respect. "Standing in the way of progress" is the suffrage characterization of all opposition to votes for women. Many wrong causes have been urged in the name of progress. Populists, anarchists and socialists voice the same shibboleth.

Dr. T. Clay Shaw, in his article, "The Nervous Factor in Woman's Health," states: "There are some women who will not be satisfied until they have brought about the abasement of men and have erected a false and futile Frankenstein in his place. If men fear anything it is that this unrest, this sex war, will destroy the true womanhood, the gentleness, the child-fostering care, the mind-cleanliness of the sex and make them impossible in the social system." Professor Sedgwick of Boston declares "a generation ago this sort of doctrine was anathematized as 'free love,' to-day it is being popularized as 'feminism,' but the leopard has not changed its spots."

Under the false name of rights and liberties the possibility of individual development is destroyed. Suffragism is the "ism" that menaces our nation to-day and, if allowed to become a part of our Government, will rend it from its foundation.

Shall the great majority of women who abhor these unholy preachments remain silent while their self-seeking, restless sisters stalk up and down the country claiming to represent the will of all women?

Therein lies the danger. American men have ever been patient with the inconsistencies of their women, ever willing to grant even that which was not for their highest good when urged by strong appeal. Let them not be mistaken into believing that the majority of women are urging these ultra-radical measures. Give them to understand that the great silent feminine force still means to uphold the dignity of the nation which, in the past, has been sustained by its women. The tenets of socialism, suffragism and feminism, as expressed in teachings of free love, domination of woman and annihilation of the home does not make for dignity or peace. The mad antics of 1912 and 1913, hiking, street parades, dancing with bare feet on the steps of the stately capitol and haranguing from soap boxes on street corners are not encouraging symptoms of a growth of modesty among the women of our era.

At the outbreak of the Civil War there were many who said of the seceding States, "If they want to go, let them." Had this advice been followed we should have no United States to-day. Because unity was preserved, even at the cannon's mouth, we now enjoy an undivided republic. In the present case, however, we are being forced into accepting something that the great majority of women do not want. This is proven by the fact that the majority of women have never voted in any State where women now have the franchise. Therefore, we consider the expression, "If women want the vote, let them have it," is cruelly unjust to the great body of women who are vigorously resisting the effort to compel them to surrender their right of exemption from the ballot.

In this human conflict, which is not a question of States, but of moral integrity and conservation of national dignity, shall we be less vigilant? In the morning of the world the sexes were created essentially diverse the one from the other. To see this distinction is wisdom, to maintain it inflexibly is security, to ignore it is destruction.

"Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." As

numerous as the minds which propagate them, as varied as individual opinion can be, are the theories that now assail us. Suffrage promises to end as did the Tower of Babel, in a confusion of tongues. The danger just now is lest the real be despised for the sham. Lest the scum which has lately been rising to view obscure from our vision the ancient stream of living realities. More potent than the power of law is the power of character.

There are even greater words than liberty, equality and rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words liberty, fraternity, equality. Above liberty write duty, above fraternity write humility, above equality

write service, above the immemorial creed of your rights inscribe the divine creed of your duties."

Let us ask ourselves these questions: Do the conditions advanced by the feminist-suffragist embody any one of these qualities? Are their theories constructive or destructive? Do they represent safe ideals of government? Do we want to live under a Socialist régime of free love? Do we want community raising of children? Do we desire to sacrifice the beautiful and ideal in life for the sordid, selfish and abnormal? If we do not want this social revolution we must act speedily, for the tide is upon us. Then let the great silent majority of women speak as with one mighty voice that the men of our country may know and act in accordance with their will.

WARRING ON "ANTIQUATED" VIRTUES

BY JULIA T. WATERMAN

MISS MARY JOHNSTON implied if she did not positively state, in her late contribution to the literature of the cause that the feminists were making war gallantly on two antiquated virtues, honor and charity, which she feels have stood seriously in the way of woman's progress. She seemed to rejoice hopefully in the belief that they were at last (like truth) "crushed to earth," so far as the feminists were concerned. There is no doubt that Miss Johnston's observation is correct. No one who has watched the progress of the movement can deny that honor and charity are no longer highly esteemed in feminist circles. They are regarded as obsolete prejudices having no basis in reason. Miss Johnston might have added that any number of other virtues as well as honor and charity are being exterminated by the energies of feminist reformers. Their destructive power is no longer open to question and if that power entitles them to a vote they have certainly proved it. But when did the power to destroy imply the power to rebuild? The Goths and Vandals certainly abolished many things which they were quite unable to restore.

Miss Johnston favors the abolition of honor and charity—both are antiquated and no longer in touch with modern progress. Miss Gershanick (Suffragist) states that no such thing as "mother-instinct" exists and she is ably supported by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who does not demand its suppression only because she says there is no such thing.

We can gather from these views of these very prominent feminist leaders something of the aims and objects to which they are committed. But on these points, as on most others, there is disunion and a wide divergence of opinion, and apparently each one thinks that their peculiar and personal point of view will be the only one considered when women vote. Mrs. Pankhurst holds that the cessation of charity was the actual *cause* in England of the conditions she deplores. She says: "When Elizabeth came to the throne she found England, the Merrie England of contemporary poets, in a state of appalling poverty. Hordes of people were literally starving to death in wretched hovels in the streets and at the very gates of the palace. The cause of all this misery was the religious reformation under Henry VIII, and the secession from Rome of the English Church. King Henry, it is known, seized the church lands, the abbeys and the convents, and gave them as rewards to those nobles and favorites who had supported his policies. But in taking over the church property the Protestant nobles by no means assumed the church's ancient responsibilities of lodging wayfarers, giving alms, nursing the sick, educating youths

and caring for the young and the superannuated. When the monks and nuns were turned out their duties devolved on no one. The result, after the brief reign of Edward VI and the bloody one of Queen Mary, was the social anarchy inherited by Elizabeth."

It is thus that Mrs. Pankhurst feelingly describes the result of privilege without corresponding responsibility. It is thus that she shows us the conditions brought about by the neglect of one of the greatest of all Christian virtues. And what solution does she offer? The usual feminist one, of course. She preaches socialism, *i. e.*, she thinks that as voluntary feeding of the poor and helping of the orphan has been abandoned that compulsory and equal provision must be made for them by means of taxation and repression of trade. Since giving has ceased, extortion must begin. But where does Mrs. Pankhurst call her facts? Has giving ceased? And is this stoical indifference to the welfare of the widow and the orphan and the unemployed apparent to anyone who is not blindly partisan to the feminist point of view?

We know, of course, that a pact was signed by feminists, both here and in England, which bound them to give no aid to the unfortunate until votes for women became law, but feminists after all are a small minority, and this act was neither applauded nor imitated by the majority of men and women.

The fact is that society is only affected by feminist oratory because society is in a condition of somewhat pathological sensibility. But the signs are that health is likely to triumph when women who are appealing to all the tenderest Christian consideration in their own behalf begin to pride themselves that in their relations to others honor and charity are no longer necessary, the end is not far off.

There is no law more undeviating than that extremes produce reaction. The abolition of honor, charity and maternal love are perhaps not quite so imminent as feminists would have us suppose and until the germ of goodness which produces them is killed sporadic instances will continue to appear to the injury of the "Cause" and the despair of the gentle pessimists who are so disinterestedly bent on convincing us that things are in a very bad way and can never be cured without votes for women. Some of us think the cure worse than the disease if it means that honor, charity and maternal instinct must be trampled on and denied in order to fit ourselves for the new sphere. If that is the price (and we think it is) we are ready to renounce the ballot.

HAVE FEMINISTS GAINED IN WISDOM WHAT THEY HAVE LOST IN REVERENCE?

The following article is based upon statements made at a meeting held at the Church of the Messiah in New York as reported in *The New York Sun* and other newspapers. These statements have never been denied.

Suffragists who fear the effect of feminist beliefs upon the voting public are protesting that "freedom of love" and the doctrines of sex antagonism are not essential doctrines of suffrage. Yet many suffrage leaders are active feminist propagandists.

The fearful Suffragists say that feminism is not a part of suffrage, but we say that suffrage is actually a part of feminism.

The whole suffrage movement is kept active by a few agitators. Many of these leaders are feminists. They have led their followers to suffrage. They are now leading them on to feminism, the "ballot" being by inference a mere "way station."

These facts make the following article of vital significance.

(From *The Detroit Saturday Night*, March 31)

JESUS CHRIST taught us that "whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery." But Jane Olcott, formerly of the New York State Suffrage Association, gives us this new gospel:

A man or a woman should be free to give love whenever it is natural. * * * Love is volatile, and when it goes I believe it is unmoral for man and wife even to appear to live together, except for the sake of their children. In that case each should be free to bestow love elsewhere by mutual agreement. It would be better for the children, as both would be happier.

Of course, when Jesus delivered the Sermon on the Mount the wise women had not yet come out of the east to teach Him the ethics of feminism. "Free love" had not yet attained the subtly differential dignity of "the freedom of love," as Jane defines it. There was no Inez Milholland Boissevain to set The Master right on the meaning of marriage, and to throw her wedding ring into a Holland canal, proclaiming as a new goddess of the new liberty:

Wedding rings are relics of barbarism. They are relics of the day when women were men's chattels. I should feel like a slave instead of a free woman, if I were to wear a wedding ring.

And does she throw her marriage certificate into the canal, also, lest it look too much like a mortgage that covers men's other chattels, or like a contract that might seem too binding?

It's a long way from Nazareth to New York. Are we any better or happier for the journey? Have we gained in wisdom what we have lost in reverence? Are the ethics of Jesus or the ethics of Jane Olcott to govern the future of America? Does feminism offer us only the obverse side of the profane jest: "Trust in God, and She will save you?"

* * *

Divorce for other than scriptural reasons has come to be recognized by most American States as a necessary evil. This is one of the fruits of broad individual liberty, but we do not expect our Fourth of July orators to boast about it. The fact is that we have come to feel just a little bit ashamed of the ease with which divorce has been obtainable in some States. We have begun to look upon it as almost a national scandal—as exemplified by the dinner party given in San Francisco the other day by a graduate of the Reno mill to the divorced sisterhood. The trend of public opinion has been steadily toward greater restriction in the granting of divorces. States which have been most lax in the administration of their divorce laws have extended the requisite term of residence for those who would qualify as applicants for matrimonial relief within their borders. But your radical feminist would make divorce easier than it ever was before, except where she would revise our social customs to make it useless. Jane Olcott would apparently abolish the seventh commandment altogether. And Mrs. Flor-

ence Wise, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, who discussed feminism at the same meeting in the Church of the Messiah in that city on the evening of Tuesday, March 12, is not far behind her.

There is something mathematically, though unspiritually, logical in the program of these feminists. We grant divorces on other than scriptural grounds because we believe it is necessary for the alleviation of human misery. And if we grant divorce for one form of incompatibility why not grant it for another form of incompatibility? And if we can get a divorce for incompatibility why wait for divorce at all? Why bother with statutes and courts and lawyers, when we can get what we want so much more easily and quietly and cheaply? Why not "be free to give love whenever it is natural"? So here already we have caught up with Jane Olcott, who ratifies her views in the *New York Sun* in this language:

The marriage ceremony is only necessary to protect the children and maintain the family's social and economic condition. Convention has to be regarded for economic reasons.

And Mrs. Wise, who describes herself as "a perfectly dutiful wife with two children and a very pleasant home," chimes in with this dictum:

I believe only in voluntary motherhood, anyway. There are many persons, men as well as women, who are better off without children. * * * Many unmarried women, on the other hand, want children, and there ought to be an opportunity for the expression of their innate mother love.

It would be a lucky child who could name his own father under this system. It would be a lucky child who could name the fathers of all his brothers and sisters. It would be a lucky father who could be sure of his own child.

* * *

On her way to this *summum bonum*—Mrs. Wise would make two steps. The first would be to the economic independence of women, married and unmarried. No woman, she holds, should be compelled to accept matrimony as a means of livelihood. "Every adult ought to work." "There should be no economic consideration in love." Married women with children "could still guide and plan the children's lives" even if working for a living besides. "The mother doesn't feel it necessary to do the actual teaching of the children," she argues. "She leaves it to some one who is better trained. Why not leave the actual bathing or feeding to another expert?" Some women will be satisfied with that method of training children. Other women will not quickly forego the joy they find in the companionship of their babies; but these last are quite without appreciation of marriage and maternity as an engrossing problem in economics.

Let us proceed with Mrs. Wise on her second step. Having won economic independence for women she would next establish their freedom in love:

Freedom in love depends on economic independence. Even after working women have gained their freedom as workers through trade union, they will still have to work out their freedom as women. To do that we will have to change existing conventions.

The changes she seeks we have emphasized above. What are we Americans going to do about it? Shall we revert to the teachings of Jesus? Or shall we follow feminism to its

The writer of this editorial in *The Detroit Saturday Night* closed with an appeal to the Suffragists of Michigan to state where they stand on the question of feminism, but so far as we know no leader of any suffrage organization in Michigan or elsewhere has officially repudiated the extreme feminist doctrines which are expressed in this editorial.

The men and women in the following list are avowed feminists and have either written or spoken for suffrage organizations:

Jane Olcott, former secretary New York State Suffrage Association; organizer for Woman's Empire State Campaign Committee, of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is chairman.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, member Congressional Union.

Fola La Follette (wife of George Middleton, but refuses to use her married name), speaker for suffrage.

Winifred Harper Cooley, daughter of Ida Husted Harper; author of "The Younger Suffragists."

brutal conclusion? Since we must have divorce, shall we use it sparingly, or shall we apotheosize adultery in the name of individual liberty? Shall we pillory monogamy, and embrace polygamy piecemeal; or shall we remember the lessons of the ages, and insist that the individual must sacrifice some of his whims and caprices to the most rigid possible regulation of marriage and the integrity of the home for the general welfare of American society?

Mary Ware Dennett, corresponding secretary National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Rheta Childe Dorr, Editor of *The Suffragist*.

Mrs. Thos. N. Hepburn, president Hartford (Conn.) Suffrage Association.

Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*, Socialist publication, and secretary of the New York State Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

Marie Jenney Howe, leader 25th Assembly District New York State Woman Suffrage Association.

Alfred H. Brown, radical Socialist and feminist; campaigned New York State last summer for woman suffrage.

Norman Hapgood, editor *Harper's Weekly*, the feminist organ as announced editorially.

Inez Milholland-Boissevain, prominent suffrage speaker.

Ida Eastman, Woman's Trade Union League.

Chrystal Eastman Benedick, member of the Executive Committee of The Congressional Union.

Lincoln Steffens.

THE TURNING OF PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST "VICE PLAYS" THAT SUFFRAGISTS ENDORSE

THE intimate association of Suffragists with the questionable plays and motion pictures either suspended or altered by the police or the courts is indicated in these newspaper clippings. The succeeding comment shows a revulsion of public opinion against their attitude.

(*New York Times*)

Women Suffragists to the number of 800 filled the Maxine Elliott Theater in Thirty-ninth Street yesterday afternoon for a meeting held under the auspices of the Women's Political Union, of which Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch is president. Seated in one of the lower boxes were Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Miss Joan Wickham, advance agent in this country for Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the English militant leader, and Miss Olga Nethersole. On the platform were the Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who recently declined to take any part in the Pankhurst meetings in this city; Miss Mary Nash, who plays the leading rôle in "The Lure," and George Probert, who portrays the cadet in that play. Mrs. Eldon Bisbee, vice-chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party in the Seventeenth Senate District, was hostess at a tea which followed. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch presided.

Mrs. Blatch scored the recent attempt at police censorship of "The Lure," which she praised as a veracious presentation of the so-called white slave evil. She said that the censorship had been laughable.

(*New York Sun*)

The Woman's Political Union held a meeting yesterday afternoon at the Maxine Elliot Theater to discuss suffrage, stage censorship, and more particularly, the production of "The Lure," a "white slave" play. Including guests of the members more than 600 were present.

The speakers were Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, who presided; Mary Nash, who plays the leading rôle in "The Lure"; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and George Probert of "The Lure" company.

Mrs. Blatch said that she considered that there was not an immoral suggestion in the play and that, in fact, it was almost puritanical. Mr. Probert agreed with her, and so did Dr. Shaw,

who said that "the conditions represented in 'The Lure' would be absolutely impossible if woman had the vote."

The report of this remark of Dr. Shaw's was followed by the appearance of the following letter:

(*New York Sun*)

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Without having been previously informed of the character of a play now running in this town I took my wife to see it. I am still tingling with the subsequent shame of that experience, coupled, however, with gratitude that my companion was not my young daughter.

* * * * *
The scene of this play is stated on the program to be Colorado. In Colorado women have had the vote for twenty years. The right moral of the play, therefore, ought to be that the political activities of women do not better conditions of government, since, according to the playwright, in a commonwealth where women were enfranchised in 1893 girls can be decoyed at the present time from main thoroughfares in municipalities for forcible abuse in brothels; threats to enlist police aid are met with the sufficient response that the police will do nothing; a moral degenerate can be elected to the United States Senate; politics rests on the earnings of fallen women.

The conclusion of the play bears out the moral of the inefficiency of women as political crusaders. The playwright has drawn an ideal characterization of a woman candidate for a Colorado mayoralty, and this purifying Suffragette assures her own election by accepting joyously the aid of a political corruptionist, who, disgusted at the discovered degeneracy of the United States Senator, offers to compel a horde of floaters to vote for the woman candidate instead of the Senator's man, for whom originally they were hired.

* * * * *

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

In the meantime action had been taken by the courts, on which the *New York Times* commented editorially as follows:

(*New York Times*)

Chief Magistrate McAdoo, in issuing warrants to restrain two theater managers from continuing the performance in this city of two plays, on the grounds of indecency and a tendency to corrupt public morals, bases his action on Section 1140 of the Penal Code. The section provides that it shall be a misdemeanor to "prepare, advertise, give, present or participate in any obscene, indecent, immoral or impure drama, play, exhibition, show or entertainment." Obviously, it might be construed by some individuals to apply to other stage performances than those now assailed by the law. But it surely applies directly to these plays.

There has been a great deal of painful and morally degrading discussion of evils which can never be lessened by promiscuous and irresponsible debate. The public movement against these brothel dramas indicates that the people are alive to the dangers of the situation. They have called a halt. Too many abominable books with a pretense of moral purpose have been tolerated.

A month later this report appeared:

(*New York Sun*, October 8, 1913)

Twenty-four clubwomen and Suffragists attended last night's performance of "The Fight" at the Hudson Theater as an unofficial board of censorship to pass upon the play. The committee was chosen by the management from lists submitted by more than a hundred women's clubs.

Box parties were given by Miss Mary Garret Hay, chairman of the Women's Suffrage Party; Miss Florence Guernsey, president of the City Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, president of the Women's Political Union, and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw. In Miss Guernsey's party were Mrs. Frank J. Shuler of Buffalo, president of the State Federation, and Mrs. Belle de Rivera. Mrs. Warner Mifflin Leeds was a guest of Mrs. Laidlaw. Among others who attended were Miss Elizabeth S. Balliet, Miss Katherine Dreier, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, Mrs. Nora Blatch de Forest, Mrs. John Frances Yawger, Mrs. William C. Amos, Mrs. Alfred J. Eno, Mrs. Lois Peirce Hughes, Mrs. Mary Simkhovitch, Mrs. M. Dryden Brewer and Mrs. Lucille McLean.

"I consider the second act exceedingly strong," said Miss Hay. "In its present form the play is certainly unobjectionable. I never saw women running for office, so I can't say whether or not it is true to life."

Two months later public attention was turned to the defense by leading Suffragists of motion pictures censored and debarred by the courts.

For three days prior to the closing by the police of "The Inside of the White Slave Traffic," a moving-picture play, a placard stood in front of the theater proclaiming the endorsement of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Inez Milholland-Boissevain, all suffrage leaders.

(*New York Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1913)

The police descended upon the moving-picture play entitled "The Inside of the White Slave Traffic" at the Park Theater last night, and closed the doors in the face of a large crowd of ticket holders and others clamoring for a chance to buy tickets.

Last night's raid was made under Section 1140A of the penal law, which makes it a misdemeanor to give an improper theatrical performance.

The manager of the theater was taken before Magistrate Ten Eyck last Tuesday on complaint of Inspector Dwyer that the pictures were dangerous to the morals of girls. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came to his defense, and the magistrate, after viewing the film, ruled there was no violation of any law.

Announcement!!!

THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF OVER

1,000,000

CLUBWOMEN

HAVE WITNESSED
AND ENDORSED

THE FIGHT

(BY BAYARD VEILLER.)
AT THE

Hudson Theatre

A Few of The Comments:

"A strong play men and women should see with heart and brain wide open."
MISS FLORENCE GUERNSEY,
Pres. N.Y.C. Federation Women's Club

"Action so vivid it will linger long in minds of those who see it."
Mrs. JOHN FRANCIS YAWGER,
Vice Pres. N. Y. Federation

"Frank, exceedingly strong."
Miss MARY GARRET HAY.

"Has a big moral lesson."
Dr. ANNA H. SHAW,
Pres. Nat. Woman's Suff. Assn.

"Intense, Thrilling."
Mrs. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
Pres. International Suff. Alliance.

"Big Lesson which community must learn."
Mrs. BELLE DE RIVERA,
Pres. Theatre Club

"Gripping: appeals to all that is highest and best."
Mrs. JAMES LEE LAIDLAW

"Has great purpose."
HARRIET STANTON BLATCH

Suffragists' endorsements printed broadcast as an advertisement of a play censored by the police.

(*New York Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1913)

Justice Gavegan, in the Supreme Court, yesterday vacated the temporary injunction, issued a week ago, under which the Sociological Research Film Company was enabled to continue to exhibit moving pictures of "The Inside of the White Slave Traffic" at the Park Theater.

Under this decision the police were empowered to follow up their earlier action of prohibiting the exhibition of the films.

The film company came into court armed with affidavits from several well-known sociologists, who stated they had seen the

films complained of and had found them entirely moral and instructive rather than immoral and debasing. Affidavits were made by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Inez Milholland-Boissevain, all prominent Suffragists, and Dr. James P. Warbasse, author of "Medical Sociology," and Dr. Frederick H. Robinson, editor of the *The Medical Review of Reviews*.

Mrs. Catt said that she believed the story told by the moving pictures "will do more good than any other lesson, tenet or precept with regard to such matters."

(*New York Sun*, Jan. 17, 1914)

The Grand Jury returned indictments yesterday against three persons held to be responsible for the moving-picture film "The Inside of the White Slave Traffic." The jury agreed that the opinions of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Inez Milholland-Boissevain and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont would not aid them in their judgment and did not call them as witnesses.

Meantime there were editorial protests against the continuance of such plays.

(*The New York World*)

A play which transfers a redlight resort to the public stage for acting before innocent girls and their unwarned mothers finds the police power carefully consulting the courts and the law before making up its mind what to do.

The police power does not wait upon preliminary court judgments when vice and indecency flaunt themselves on the sidewalk. Must it any more wait when these things are staged to attract the prurient and entrap the innocent and decent in the purely mercenary purpose of making a financial success of a play which had otherwise failed?

And a supreme court justice went on record as follows:

(*New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1913)

"Some of the films," said Justice Gavegan in his decision in the Park Theater case, "depict scenes supposed to be enacted in a resort where women are subjected to involuntary degradation. As it is well known that to maintain such a place is of itself a criminal offense, I am unable to perceive why the public exhibition for money of scenes supposed to transpire therein should be entitled to the protection of a court of equity.

"It is contended by the plaintiff in affidavits furnished by disinterested individuals whose motives it is not within the province of this court to question that the pictures contain a great moral lesson to fathers and mothers calculated to impress upon their minds the urgent need of protecting their daughters from the influence of evil associations.

"The answer to this is that the exhibition has not been confined to fathers and mothers; that there is no evidence before me that the owners thereof propose or desire to so confine it, and that the evidence shows they are conducting the enterprise not for the uplift of public morals but for private gain.

"It might be possible to find individuals of such morbid curiosity that they would be willing to pay an admission price to see the inside workings of a sewer, and others of such avaricious enterprise that they would be ready to capitalize such morbid curiosity and furnish the exhibition for a price, and still others among the well meaning and unwary who would lend their sanction and privilege to the idea, in the belief that such an exhibition by its horrible example might tend to improve the habits of cleanliness of some in the audience and that the public ought to know about it in any event. If the illustration is disagreeable it is no more so than the facts with which I have to deal.

"The exhibition in question, or at least parts of it, tend to deprave and corrupt the morals of those whose minds are open to such influences, and therefore the application for an injunction is denied."

Free exhibitions were then planned by a committee.

(*N. Y. American*, Dec. 31, 1913)

Frederick H. Robinson announced yesterday that the Sociological Fund of *The Medical Review of Reviews*, of which he is president, is planning to give a free exhibition of the moving pictures of "The Inside of the White Slave Traffic," which have been formally barred from theaters by the courts.

Mr. Robinson, who says the fund will show the pictures for educational purposes, has written a letter to the producers of the pictures in which he says:

"In the company of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Inez Milholland-Boissevain, I have just seen a presentation of your film, 'The Inside of the White Slave Traffic.' As president, I am glad to give the same unqualified endorsement of the Sociological Fund of *The Medical Review of Reviews*."

The fund committee is composed, besides Mr. Robinson, of the following members: Norman Hapgood, chairman; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Eugene Brieux, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Frederic C. Howe, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, Dr. H. Helen Knight, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Dr. William J. Robinson, Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, Dr. James P. Warbasse, Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Dr. Ira S. Wile and Paul Bern, secretary.

Mrs. Inez Milholland-Boissevain writes Mr. Robinson that the pictures are "deserving of the widest public attention."

In quite a different vein is this opinion of one of New York's leading clergymen:

(*N. Y. American*, Dec. 31, 1913)

By Rev. Charles A. Eaton, Pastor of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church

"I consider the uncensored moving-picture shows which expose the youth of our city to the pernicious and unlicensed portrayal of vice in its worst form as one of the greatest evils of our present day.

"I am surprised to see that Mrs. Belmont, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Milholland-Boissevain and other women have leagued themselves behind this vile portrayal of low life—are its sponsors, as it were. What are these women thinking about? They talk about the lessons that the poor, strange immigrant girl, coming here without knowing the language and the people, can learn in seeing what may happen through white slavery.

"Why do not these women who are striving—so they claim—to uplift and protect innocent, ignorant immigrant girls go down to the Immigration Bureau and to Ellis Island and become personally responsible for these girls as they enter our port? Why don't they become the 'big sister' or the 'big mother' to these girls? Then they would be doing a work that would actually count, instead of fostering and building up, through their approbation, one of the worst and most vicious ways of leading girls and boys away from right living."

At Hartford, Conn., the suffrage organization sold at its headquarters "The Hartford Vice Report" for the benefit of its treasury, a report printed for private circulation only. A picture on a circular distributed in Parson's Opera House advertising a lecture given by the Suffragists in Hartford was reproduced on blotters, so that they might be on the desks of Hartford business men. The post-office authorities excluded this blotter from the mails.

THE PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF UNWHOLESOMENESS

(Editorial in *The Outlook*, April 11, 1914)

THE PASSING OF THE INDECENT

CLEAR-SIGHTED observers are beginning to take heart because they see the indications of the subsidence of the tide of indecency which has rolled over the country during recent years and left its traces in fiction, on the stage, in dress, in dancing, and in other less obvious ways. In the period of general readjustment through which society is passing there must be much loose and unconsidered talk about very delicate and vital subjects. A number of women who do not understand as good women often fail to understand, what they are talking about, are justifying from various points of view what they call freedom in love, which is only another name for "free love." The fundamental trouble with this kind of talk is that it has nothing whatever to do with love. What men and women really mean when they allow themselves to practice this so-called freedom is something which real lovers of all ages and both sexes regard as profanation. Not only that; it is also the highway to tragedy, as every daily newspaper shows. It ends in bitter disillusion, in cynical disbelief in all law, in sordid misery. It is one of the oldest tragedies in the world; it is one of the most common; and it is one of the most ignoble. Good women who have not the faintest idea of what the practical application of their theories means preach the doctrine of freedom in love, and do not know that they are advocating license in passion. This phase will pass, as it has passed a thousand times before.

There have been, however, much more definite and, in a sense, more dangerous expressions of widespread relaxation of moral standards. There have been plays on the stage which no decent woman ought to have allowed herself to see or to hear; there have been forms of dancing which no woman with any knowledge of life or any standards of what is decent and proper ought to have indulged. There have been stories in the hands of decent women which properly belong to houses of ill fame; and there are magazines which have sold their birthright of integrity and responsibility for a mess of pottage. All this has been temporary; for the moral sense is a kind of sanity, and sooner or later sanity asserts itself. The American people are not long attracted by indecency. Their ancestral education has been against it. They are not at home with it. They cannot take it lightly, as older races with a different background take it. They cannot confine it to one part of their lives; if they accept it at all, it corrupts the whole life.

The number of wholesome, entertaining and thoroughly human plays in New York this winter has been surprising; and equally surprising to the prophets of evil has been the popularity of these plays. They have filled the theaters week after

week with audiences who could enjoy the play, look one another in the face without blushing and go home without a sense of having been dragged through the mud. The objectionable kinds of dancing are going out of fashion, and the newer dances in which so many people are interested, and which form a natural and wholesome diversion, are now being danced, not only without impropriety of any kind, but with dignity and grace. A good many women are wearing indecent dresses under the impression that they are following the modes adopted by French ladies. As a matter of fact, they are following modes borrowed from the French women of another class who are to be seen in great numbers in the streets of Paris. These dresses have the same relation to the dress of French women of refinement which the kimonos of the geishas have to the kimonos worn by Japanese ladies, with this difference, that the gay kimonos, while they are striking in color and design, are always perfectly decent in form.

The vicious plays are not thriving; the vicious dances are retreating under the fire of public condemnation; good women who lost their heads for a little time are regaining their senses; as for young girls, their responsibility in the matter has been very slight. They ought to have been protected by their mothers.

There are evidences, too, that indecent books are no longer creating a sensation, and that prurient magazines are not as profitable as they were a few months ago. The stories of relaxed morality are conspicuous chiefly for their very crude art. They have relied on a rather flagrant form of indecency; they have lacked the skill and the interest which a few real artists have been able to give to the treatment of delicate subjects.

The vicious play has been halted in its career by lack of popular support. The indecent magazine can be converted in the same way. The mercenary editor can be reached through the publisher. A magazine which prints indecency as a matter of profit will return to the paths of decency when the profit ceases. In all these demoralizing adventures into the lower world the public has a large responsibility. It can cease to go to the theater, it can refuse to buy the book and it can decline to read the magazine. The magazine which has sold itself to the goddess of lubricity can be reformed by the shrinkage of its circulation and by the falling off of its advertising receipts. The advertiser who looks simply for the biggest circulation, without reference to the way in which that circulation is obtained, becomes a partner in the indecency of the publication he patronizes. He is doing precisely what he would do if he placed his advertisements on the walls of houses of ill fame. He may not realize this, but if he will take the trouble to think it out he will find himself in the position of a patron of vice. His responsibility is greater than that of readers of the offensive magazines; he is a partner in an immoral business.

"EVIL UNDERSTOOD IS EVIL CONQUERED"—A DELUSION

(From *The Repeal of Reticence*, by Agnes Repplier, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1914)

The public is being daily instructed concerning matters which it was once assumed to know, and which, as a matter of fact, it has always known. When "The Lure" was being played at the Maxine Elliott Theater in New York, the engaging Mrs. Pankhurst arose in Mrs. Belmont's box and, unsolicited, informed the

audience that it was the truth which was being nakedly presented to them, and that as truth it should be taken to heart. Now it is probable that the audience—adult men and women—knew as much about the situations developed in "The Lure" as did Mrs. Pankhurst. It is possible that some of them knew more and could have given her points. But whatever may be the standard of morality, the standard of taste (and taste is a guardian of morality) must be curiously lowered when a woman spectator

at an indecent play commends its indecencies to the careful consideration of the audience. Even the absurdity of the proceeding fails to win pardon for its grossness.

It is not so much the nature of the information showered upon us to which we reasonably object, but the fact that a great deal of it is given in the wrong way by the wrong people. Who made the Pankhursts our nursery governesses and put us in their hands for schooling? We might safely ignore the articles of Miss Christabel Pankhurst in the *Suffragette*—articles which are a happy blend of a vice commissioner's report and an amateur medical dictionary—were it not that these effusions find their way into the hands of young women whose enthusiasm for the "cause" lets down their natural barriers of defense. If Miss Pankhurst knows what she is writing about—and let us hope she doesn't—it should occur even to her that more legitimate and, on the whole, more enlightened avenues may be found for the communication of pathological facts.

Knowledge is the cry. Crude, undigested knowledge, with-

out limit and without reserve. Give it to boys, give it to girls, give it to children. No other force is taken account of by the visionaries who—in defiance or in ignorance of history—believe that evil understood is evil is conquered. "The menace of degradation and destruction can be checked only by the dissemination of knowledge on the subject of sex physiology and hygiene," writes an enthusiast in the *Forum*, calling our attention to the methods employed by some public schools, noticeably the Polytechnic High School of Los Angeles, for the instruction of students, and urging that similar lectures be given to boys and girls in the grammar schools.

If knowledge alone could save us from sin the salvation of the world would be easy work. If by demonstrating the injuriousness of evil we could insure the acceptance of good, a little logic would redeem mankind. But the laying of the foundation of law and order in the mind, the building up of character which will be strong enough to reject both folly and vice—this is no facile task.

"IT IS TIME TO CALL A HALT!"—JUDGE LINDSEY

(From *The Cincinnati Commercial-Tribune*, January 17, 1914)

A BRIDELESS bridegroom passed through Cincinnati yesterday in the person of Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, familiarly known as "the daddy of the Juvenile Court."

His stop was short—just between trains—as he had a lecture engagement to fill in Lewisburg, O. In his usual trenchant way he had some comments to make upon matters of public import.

"I am not in harmony or in sympathy with the feminist movement in this country at the present time," said the Judge.

"Do you mean by that you are against woman suffrage?" he was asked.

"No, not that. Equal suffrage has many admirable features, but the trouble is that the women will not stop there. Other questions of sex are vexatious and with which I heartily disagree."

"The one great argument of the feminist is that it will make better men. As I see it will make looser women."

"Here comes a feminist who advocates woman choosing the father of her child. What piffle! In a single stroke she would break down the barriers that have protected the legitimacy of our children for centuries."

"Do you know that the greatest problem that confronts the courts of our cities to-day is that of illegitimate birth? Insurance statistics and other sources of information show that men and women both are marrying at later ages than in years gone by."

"It has been my aim for years to protect the unfortunate woman who has brought into the world a being that must be part of our citizenship. If she is to be protected, how much greater protection should be given to the child?"

"Yet this very protection that is asked by the courts can, and has been, turned about by feminists to mean greater laxity in the marriage problem."

"They apparently cannot see that in helping the unfortunate there was no intention of encouraging the condition."

"If the ideas that these faddists continue to create grow and spread, the only thing I can see ahead is loose morals and loose marriage laws, such as are in Scotland and some of the older countries where the barriers have been broken down. It is time to call a halt."

"But how can it be done?"

"The solution has been searched for high and low by moralists and reformers, yet the cure has not been found."

"On the other hand, many elements are conspiring to make the work of the feminist more plausible."

"There are tango dancers and sensuous turkey trots; there are books, novels and magazines which arouse sensuality—worst of all, there is a perfect flood of sex plays that whet the mind on matters that our forefathers talked of in dark places."

"And what has been given the general public to bring about a counter action? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Mind you, I am not saying that well-meaning folk are not doing all that they can, but I do say that there is nothing that attracts the mind of the general public that these good people can never reach."

"We have laws, yes, even too many laws. Stiff and inviolate, demanding a sentence that has no limitation in administration."

"How many cases have come before me where guilt has been shown, and yet deep down I have found it was a case of the 'woman tempted me'."

"What can a judge do in such cases? The law says the prisoner must go to the penitentiary for three years or up to twenty."

"Stiff and burdensome, it reacts against itself. There must be more elasticity to the sentences provided. There must be more discretionary powers given to our courts."

(From *Life*, March 19, 1914)

NOT Uncle Sam, but the local government as represented by Judge Swan in one of the State courts, aided by a very sensible jury, has decided that there is a limit to what may be shown in the moving pictures under the guise of teaching morality. Despite the endorsement of Mr.

(or Dr.) Frederick Robinson, of that choice sheet known as the *Medical Review of Reviews*, of the so-called Sociological Fund and its committee with the Catt-Hapgood-Blatch-Milholland-Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont endorsement, the better sentiment of the community, as represented in its criminal courts, has decided that there is a

limit to money-making under the guise of teaching morality.

This is well. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and now freedom of the stage, have been so much abused under our form of government that a little conservatism, as determined by the court, is quite in order.

—AND LO, THIS WINDOW OPENING INTO UTAH!

(Editorial from *Life*, March 19, 1914)

EVERY little while something happens to remind one of the story of the man who languished for fourteen years in a prison cell, until one day an idea struck him and he opened the window and got out.

How does it happen that it has occurred to no one to suggest that we compromise with the uplift by all turning Mormons?

What does the uplift want?

The abolition of poverty, woman suffrage, feminism, proper direction and protection of the feeble people by a strong central authority, a strong hand to make everybody do right according to prescribed definitions.

Mormon influence is strongest in Utah and Idaho. In those States women have had the vote since 1896. The prejudice in favor of continuing monogamous marriage, so earnestly deprecated by many feminists, is at its faintest in Idaho and Utah. In the rural districts in those States one finds, we are told, a great deal of helpful economy in the domestic use of men, the maintenance and control of a husband being still divided very commonly among several women. Of course, this makes it easier for wives, and marital provision for the supernumerous women being comparatively simple, commercialized vice is probably much rarer than here in the East.

As to poverty, the Socialists are right in holding that there is plenty enough of the necessities of life to go around if only you can make everyone work as you say and make something like an equitable division of products. The Mormon Church seems able to make the Mormons do about as it says. The church is a wonderful commercial and governmental organization. It takes tithes of its members, a method that makes the methods of our corporations seem primitive. We understand the Mormon Church has eight or nine hundred million dollars' worth of property, most of it productive, and including mines, factories and all sorts of business. Its leaders seem to be able. One of them, Senator Smoot, is a very leading and influential Republican in the National Senate. The church is rich, strong and competent. Apparently it turns over its money to excellent purpose. It rules its people by a secret government which seems to be satisfactory to the governed. It receives all comers, so far as we know, and we hear no complaints about unemployed or starving Mormons.

If nothing matters but that people shall be fed and lead healthy lives and have healthy children; if our prejudices in favor of the old religion and monogamous marriage and individual liberty, and manhood and womanhood and childhood and the home and the family as we have known them, are all "bunk" and old wives' tales, why don't we all join the Mormons, and achieve industrial and social regeneration, woman suffrage and the annihilation of white slavery all at one swoop and have good care taken of us ever after? Why should we sweat over so many theories, and fuss about laws to quell the railroads and curb the corporations, and soap-box about women votes and the comparative horrors of marriage and prostitution, and make junk of the Constitution to get the little children out of the mills, when here at hand, is a going concern, of American invention and demonstrated practicability, that will take us all in as fast as we come and save us all further trouble and anxiety about this world or the next?

How dull we have been! Lo, this window opening into Utah, and here we dilly-dally and go to hear the feminists debate!

Come on, brethren! Come on, sisters! Come to the promised land of Utah, a Utah that shall stretch from ocean to ocean; where all the old prejudices shall be extinct, and grape juice shall flow like water, and no man shall want for bread!

But probably it wouldn't do. The Mormon elders would be our bosses. That wouldn't suit the uplift, nor the leading suffragists, nor the I. W. W., nor any of our politicians, all of whom prefer themselves to direct our destinies, and make our laws, and have the spending of our surplus earnings. And there are those who maintain that civilization and government as we have practiced them these last hundred years have not been such a fizzle and are not so clearly obsolete as the new teachers assert, and that even our prevailing religion is sounder without the Mormon improvements.

But if we could induce the more obstreperous of the upholders to join the Mormons and uplift them, that would be a real help. They wouldn't have so very far to go. What they would leave behind they don't seem to care for, and much of what they might get is in pretty close approximation to their expressed and suggested wants.

BERNARD SHAW'S CONCEPTION OF PROGRESS

PROFESSOR PHILIP WICHSTEED, writing in the *Contemporary Review* of 1899, thus explains the meaning of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt": "The subject-matter of 'Peer Gynt' is 'self-realization' as distinguished from and opposed to 'self-assertion.' This alternative meets every man. If he chooses 'self-realization' he lives. If he chooses 'self-assertion' he dies. Every man is made by God to fit a place in the world. If he is true to his destiny and fulfills God's intention with him, he has lived and realized himself—that is to say, if he is to take his place in the order of God's universe he must slay the self-assertion which urges him to make himself the center around which others must revolve while their lives minister to his."

The path to self-realization lies through self-discipline and self-sacrifice; no man who is self-centered can ever realize himself, for he can never take his true place in life.

Self-assertion always masks self-realization, though in point of fact it is its absolute opposite and annihilation. "How can a man be himself if he is a pack-horse of the weal and woe of others?" is the question of self-assertion. "To be oneself is to slay oneself" is the answer of self-realization. Self-

assertion then goes through self-indulgence to selfishness, directly away from self-realization and ends in spiritual self-effacement, in the obliteration of the distinctive stamp set on each separate brow by God, in the annihilation of the distinctive individuality in spiritual death.

The one path leads through death to the only real life, the other leads through seeming life to the real death. The one scale runs: self-discipline, self-sacrifice, self-realization; the other: self-indulgence, self-assertion, self-obliteration.

As an example of "self-assertion masking as self-realization," we could scarcely find a better instance than the following passage from one of the most intellectual of feminists, George Bernard Shaw.

Mr. Shaw says: "The sum of the matter is that unless woman repudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law and to everyone but herself, she cannot emancipate herself. But her duty to herself is no duty at all, since a debt is cancelled when the debtor and creditor are the same person. Its payment is simply a fulfilment of the individual will, upon which all duty is a restriction,

founded on the conception of the will as naturally malign and devilish. Therefore, woman has to repudiate duty altogether. In that repudiation lies her freedom; for it is false to say that woman is now directly the slave of man; she is the immediate slave of duty; and as man's path to freedom is strewn with the wreckage of the duties and the ideals he has trampled on, so must hers be. She may indeed mask her iconoclasm by proving in rationalist fashion, as man has often done for the sake of a quiet life, that all these discarded idealist conceptions will be fortified instead of shattered by her emancipation. To a person with a turn for logic, such proofs are as

easy as playing the piano is to Paderewski. But it will not be true."

This is Shaw's conception of progress—a trampling on duty and a ruthless destruction of ideals. Where Mr. Shaw got his theory of evolution he does not say, but it sounds strangely like degeneracy. Evolution has not, to our knowledge, been aided either in man or woman by destroying ideals or trampling on duty. We are glad that Mr. Shaw has warned us that the plea of an intention to uplift society "will not be true." We never thought it was.

J. T. W.

THE TRIALS OF A MODERN CUPID

(Contribution from a Colorado Man)

Cupid was keeping a bureau
Of the matrimonial kind,
When a lady drifted in there
With a definite sort of mind.

(I oughtn't to say, "She drifted,"
"Strode," would be nearer the truth.)
A sort of dynamic vigor
Made up what she lacked in youth.

She said she had called for a husband
And she hoped to collect him soon,
And while it was only December,
She should want him delivered by June.

Said Cupid, "We'll draw up the items,
A specification and plan,
And I'll send you a wireless message,
When we hit on the right sort of man."

She rolled her gloves back from her fingers,
Stuck a hairpin back in its place,
Pulled a puff-box out of her hand-bag,
And smilingly whitened her face.

"Mr. Cupid," she said, "you may listen,
And write it down, if you please."
Then she fastened her eyes on the ceiling,
And clasped her hands over her knees.

Beginning, she said she had noticed
That most every man she had known
Didn't reach to her anticipations,
And so she had gone it alone.

But the time had arrived in her fortunes,
When she felt a strong pull at her heart
For a bifurcated attachment
As better than living apart.

She wanted a man of good stature,
Strong of muscle and stately of limb,
Without any adipose tissue
Bulging out on the frontage of him.

His face must be fair and smooth-shaven,
His cheeks with a natural rose;
Broad brow, curly hair, dark eyes flashing
O'er the bridge of an aquiline nose.

He mustn't have any bad habits—
Mustn't ever drink, smoke, chew or swear;
Must never cast sheep's eyes at women,
Be they ever so charming and fair.

He must never play cards for money,
Nor ever gamble or bet;
He must spend all his earnings and leisure
On his own little suffragette.

He must help her work out the problem
Of emancipating her kind,
Yet to all of its feminine units,
Save herself, must be deaf, dumb and blind.

He mustn't care to have children—
She had not the time for that;
"The Cause" must claim all their attention—
Upon this they must always "stand pat."

He needn't be really wealthy—
A few hundred thousands would do,
And a place fitted up for meetings
In their home on the avenue.

"Now, Mr. Cupid, I'll leave it to you,
If this isn't a reasonable plan—
I've laid it all before you—
You can lay it before the man.

"It's been a delightful experience
To explain my needs to you,
And in leaving, I wish to thank you
For what I am sure you will do."

So she went, and the Bureau was vacant—
As vacant as Cupid's stare,
As he gazed at the spot on the ceiling
She had pondered while she was there.

And long was his gaze and distant,
And business ceased for a while
At the frown that shadowed his features,
Then over his face played a smile.

And rising, he went to the window,
And there a sign he set—
**WE ARE OUT OF MASCULINE PRODIGIES
FOR THE SUFFERING SUFFRAGETTE!**

NEW FRENZY OF SUFFRAGE MILITANCY

RECORD OF A YEAR'S "REIGN OF TERROR"

(From *The New York Times*, April 26, 1914)

THE "Reign of Terror" of the militant Suffragettes of Great Britain has now been in progress for slightly more than one year. The record of its first twelve months shows that Mrs. Johns chose the name well. On the night of April 3, 1913, this woman, one of the most aggressive of the leaders, speaking in Glasgow, borrowed from the French Revolution that appellation with which to christen the new frenzy of militancy, come to life that day.

The reason was that Mrs. Pankhurst was then sentenced to penal servitude for three years for inciting the destruction of the country house of Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George.

Since then, according to the published records for the year to April 3, 1914, not a day, and for days in sequence, scarcely an hour has passed without militant damage being done to person or to property, or without danger or fear or inconvenience being caused to some of the public.

They have ruined or injured thousands of letters in hundreds of mail boxes throughout the British Isles by the use of corrosive fluids; court proceedings showed that in ten weeks in London alone they destroyed or damaged 8445 mail packets in 565 boxes.

On May 8 the Scotland Yard authorities estimated that direct damage in the preceding three months had been \$5,000,000, a large part of this inflicted since the beginning of the Reign of Terror on April 3, to which was to be added the costs of guarding property.

Cables to New York during the year contained accounts of hundreds of separate destructions of property by militants. In only fifteen instances were estimates of damage given. Yet these fifteen alone, out of the hundreds, total \$1,500,000, excluding the Portsmouth Dockyard fire. This fire cost two men's lives and \$1,000,000, but while the militants were suspected of causing it, evidence was lacking.

Besides the half-million-dollar railway shed fire before mentioned, another huge loss was that due to the burning of the unoccupied Seafield House at Seaford, which was placed at \$400,000. The slashing on March 10 by Miss May Richardson of the famous Velasquez, known as the Rokeby Venus, in the National Gallery, was estimated by Hawes Harrison Turner, Secretary of the gallery, to have reduced the selling price of the painting, valued at \$225,000 by from \$50,000 to \$75,000.

On April 4, 1913, the day after Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced, the new attitude of the militants with reference to human life was expressed by one of the London leaders, who declared that the burning of occupied houses would be undertaken, "as the burning of empty houses is useless." On that day, also, a Suffragette bomb blew out the walls and windows of a station on the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway.

On the same day an unoccupied country house was burned in Buckinghamshire, while an effort was made to blow up an empty train near Stockport, a canister of explosives being placed in a car, with a quantity of firelighters saturated with resin and oil. The sides of several of the cars were splintered by the explosion.

The Reign of Terror was now under full headway. On April 5 there was a \$15,000 loss by the burning of the grand stand at the Ayr (Scotland) race track, while the Kelso track grand stand only escaped destruction because watchmen quenched the flames before they got fully started. Shop windows were smashed in many cities with stones, hatchets and hammers, the damage in Glasgow being particularly heavy; telephone and telegraph wires were cut in Monmouthshire; letter boxes were damaged in Liverpool and London, mail destroyed, and park flower beds were ruined.

Precautions were taken everywhere to protect country

houses, such show places as Chatsworth and Haddon Hall having heavy guards posted night and day. The cables stated that the bomb and arson campaign was causing great alarm throughout the British Isles.

Intense indignation was caused on April 9 by the destruction by fire, following a bomb explosion, of an empty passenger car forming part of a train going from Waterloo to Kensington-on-Thames, the other cars being filled with passengers who were saved from death or injury by good luck.

This luck, indeed, is a notable feature of many of the fires and bomb explosions caused by the Suffragettes, in instance after instance death and maiming being only averted by sheer chance.

On April 11 the grand stand of the great cricket ground at Tunbridge Wells was badly damaged by fire; fire alarms were destroyed in London, and an attack with stones was made on the office of *The London Standard*, which had editorially criticised the militants.

On April 12 Mrs. Pankhurst was released for the first time under the three-year sentence from Holloway Prison, her condition being declared by physicians to be very grave as a result of her hunger strike. On this day an attempt was made to burn the Shipcote Council Schools at Gateshead, the carpentry teaching-room being drenched with kerosene and fired.

On April 15 the house of Arthur Philip du Cros, Unionist Member of Parliament, at St. Leonard-on-Sea, was burned, the loss being \$50,000.

On April 22 came an attempt to burn the historic parish church at Minster-in-Thanet, Kent, one of the oldest churches in England. On the same day Miss Annie Bell was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment for rioting. A revolver was found on her. The police magistrate, in passing sentence, said: "You had better stick to the needle and drop the revolver." Her reply was: "Your advice is not of any use at all."

Other acts in April were the attempt to blow up part of the Bank of England by placing a bomb in the railings of one of the entrances, which was discovered before the time fuse reached the powder; the cutting of the wires of the Great Western Railway, the burning of hayricks in Wiltshire, the burning of the Handsworth Park boathouse in a Birmingham suburb, the burning of the Perthshire cricket pavilion at Perth.

Some of the other activities of this month have been touched on in the general review of the year already given. This present discussion of the year by individual months is by no means complete; many columns would be required to recount the happenings of the months day by day.

On May 2 a bottle of nitro-glycerine was found at the tube station at Piccadilly Circus, and the authorities announced that they had discovered that the militants were making bombs by the wholesale. Miss Nina Boyle, a rampant fighter, gave to the world the militant opinion of the British Cabinet, declaring it was composed of "cads and cowards."

On May 4 two large timber yards were fired in London, many thousands of pounds of damage being done; 120 firemen were put on watch around the yards after the flames were quenched. On May 6 St. Catherine's Church, Hetcham, was burned, the loss being \$50,000, and the next day the same fate met the pavilion of the cricket field at Bishop's Park, Fulham, and two fine country mansions.

On May 9 the country house of Lord Richard Cavendish was burned, while the next day two large country houses were fired and four bomb explosions were prevented by chance. Farington Hall, Dundee, was burned, the loss being \$100,000.

On May 12 damage of \$10,000 was done to the Nottingham Boat Clubhouse by fire, and two days later the organ of the church at Penn, Buckinghamshire, was burned. On May 20, 5000 volunteers came forward to guard the putting greens on the St. Andrews links, the amateur championships being set for the following week.

On May 25 came an attempt to blow up Wheatley Hall, Doncaster, and on May 27 a bomb was exploded at Reading in an apparent attempt to damage an express train going through the station. On May 30 Wales experienced a general cutting of railway, telegraph and telephone wires.

On June 1 there were fires in railway station waiting-rooms at Glasgow, and on June 3 Rough's boathouse at Oxford was burned, with a shell just completed for the Eton eight. On June 7 the Balkan Peace Conference at St. James's Palace was disturbed by militant demonstrations, the same day seeing a fire damage of \$70,000 to the Hurst Park race stand. There was a general raid on mail boxes in Edinburgh on June 13, chemists' test tubes, filled with a colorless fluid which caught fire when the glass was broken, being used. Usually a blue corrosive fluid has been used for mail destruction.

On June 18 the parish church at Rowlip Regis was burned and three days later the east wing of the Gatty Marine Laboratory, connected with the university at St. Andrews, Scotland, was destroyed by fire. Although the cables made no estimate of the loss due to the burning to the ground of Ballikinrain Castle (unoccupied) in Stirlingshire on June 30, it was stated that the structure had cost \$500,000 when put up half a century ago.

On July 4 damage by fire amounting to \$20,000 was done to a factory at Sutton Coldfield and the next day the burning of a church in Wales caused a loss of \$40,000. On July 8 damage of \$100,000 was done by fire to the Lancashire home of Sir William H. Lever, Bart, the King sending the owner a message of sympathy. The King's visit to Liverpool on July 11 caused a window smashing demonstration, the women using pokers. On July 28, according to *The Daily Sketch*, the police received information of a plot against the King.

August 3 saw the beginning of the long series of interruptions of church services, on that day forty militants interrupting the litany at St. Paul's Cathedral by intoning a prayer for Mrs. Pankhurst. The following Sunday at Westminster Abbey the forty stopped the litany by chanting over and over again, "God save Emmeline Pankhurst!" On August 26 a house at Finchley was fired, and on August 28 Premier Asquith was attacked by two militants while playing golf near Elgin, Scotland. They rushed at him, knocked his hat off, struck him on the head with a book and dragged him about, meanwhile shouting, "Votes for Women!"

Early on the morning of September 5 the buildings of Dulwich College, in a London suburb, were fired in two places, and on September 13 the Kenton station, near Newcastle, was destroyed.

On September 17 intense indignation was caused by the attempted destruction of Penhurst Place, the historic seat of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley in Kent. The servants were saved by being awakened by the crackle of the flames, which had been started with heaps of rags soaked in petroleum. On September 27 a loss of \$175,000 was caused by the burning of a Yarmouth lumber yard.

October began with the burning of an unoccupied villa at Hampton-on-Thames. On October 6 property of the Countess of Carlisle was burned, and on that day there was a riot at London Pavilion, when Miss Anne Kenney was arrested. The cab into which she was hustled by the police was surrounded by shrieking, striking militants, one of them throwing herself in the roadway before the oncoming conveyance.

On October 15 Dr. Grace Caddell, a prominent Scotch Suffragette, hit on a novel way of causing trouble to the officials. Having been fined \$50 for refusing to stamp her servants' insurance cards, she paid the fine in coppers, the weight of the money she turned into court being given as fifty pounds.

On October 20 the Duke of Rutland was forced to close Haddon Hall because of fear of the militants. Three days later the arson squad destroyed the sports pavilion of Bristol University, and on October 27 came the burning of the Hampshire mansion of Theodore McKenna, brother of the Home Secretary. The day following, Shirley Manor, an occupied house near Bradford, was burned.

On November 1 four militants attacked Mr. Asquith while he was motoring near Bannockburn. They lined across the road, forcing the car to stop, and one of them threw pepper over him, while another tried to horsewhip him.

On November 11 a club pavilion in the southeast of London was burned. On November 17 the militants rioted in Sheffield, and four days afterward, early in the morning, they fired a lumber yard at Oxford, causing tens of thousands of dollars of damage. On the last day of the month there was a riot in Dublin.

During the first week of December there was much mail box destruction and window smashing. On the sixth, some of the exhibition buildings at Liverpool and Manchester were fired, and on December 15 a timber yard was burned at Plymouth. On the night of December 18 came two mine explosions at

Holloway Prison, the great concussion breaking many windows, and two children narrowly escaping death.

On January 24 the conservatory in the Botanic Gardens at Glasgow was wrecked by a bomb, hundreds of valuable plants being ruined. On January 29 a militant brigade besieged the Archbishop of Canterbury and were so persistent that they finally forced him to receive a protest against forcible feeding. On the same day there was a demonstration at the Labor Party conference in Glasgow, fighting, kicking, screaming women being ejected.

On February 4 two fine mansions in Scotland were gutted by fire, and on the same day, also in Scotland, Aberuchile Castle was fired. The domestics in the castle were awakened by smoke and flames. Valuable paintings and furniture were destroyed. On February 7 came the destruction of Hazelbank House in Scotland.

The building and all the books of the Carnegie Library at Northfield, Worcestershire, were burned on February 12, on the same day a bomb being found on the sill of the residence of Arthur Chamberlain, brother of Joseph Chamberlain. On February 18 Mary Lindsay struck Lord Werdale from behind with a heavy dog whip and felled him, mistaking him for Mr. Asquith.

On February 21 yelling, struggling militants were ejected from a theater during a performance attended by the King and Queen, and a week later they interrupted a concert at Albert Hall and addressed the King and Queen before they were silenced.

March was a lively month. It opened with a bomb explosion on the 1st at St. John's Church, Westminster, much damage being done.

The first of several extraordinary battles which occurred during this month came on the 4th. The scene was the meeting of the Independent Labor Party, when twenty women "chuckers out" of athletic build, assisted by a few men, joined issue with the militants. The "chuckers out," with the male help, won, the Suffragettes being finally ejected "either by the hair or the feet," so the accounts stated. In the mêlée hats were torn off and clothes became rags. The chroniclers say there was much scratching and high-pitched shrieking on both sides.

On March 8 there was a serious riot in Trafalgar Square and the next day came a riot in St. Andrews Halls, Glasgow, when Mrs. Pankhurst was rearrested under the Cat and Mouse act. The police stormed the platform to become entangled in barbed wire, concealed beneath banks of flowers. The militants defended Mrs. Pankhurst with clubs, flower pots, chairs and pails of water, while blank revolver shots and explosions of miniature bombs rang out from many parts of the hall. Several policemen and many citizens were injured.

On March 10 came the slashing of the Rokeby Venus, before mentioned. Miss Richardson, in explaining her act, said that she had "tried to destroy the picture of the most beautiful woman in mythological history as a protest against the Government for destroying Mrs. Pankhurst, who is the most beautiful character in modern history." Mrs. Pankhurst was then on a hunger strike in Holloway Prison.

On March 11 the cables stated that hotel managers and shopkeepers fear the season will be affected this year as it was last. There was again general closing of museums and art galleries, as there had been at intervals during the year.

On March 14 six women broke every pane of glass on the ground floor of Secretary McKenna's London home, and when arraigned in court declared they had done it "because of the great brutality shown our beloved leader," it being charged by the militants that the police in Glasgow abused Mrs. Pankhurst after the arrest of March 9. The magistrate, in sentencing the six, said he had never heard a more deplorable story. "Rot," replied the militants, as they were led to cells.

On March 16 nine empty coaches of the Midland Railway were burned. Ten days later came what was described as "one of the worst pandemoniums in the history of the movement," the scene being a meeting of the Popular Borough Council. The militants, shouting "Cowards!" threw stones, flour and vile-smelling chemicals at the Councillors, and when it was sought to eject them they fought with bludgeons and bottles, to the accompaniment of the splintering of chairs, smashing of glass and yelling.

On March 27 a loss of \$75,000 was caused by the destruction by fire of Abbey Lands, the country residence on Belfast Lough of Major-General Sir Hugh McCalmont.

On April 2 the militants fired Lisburn Castle, County Antrim, because Sir Edward Carson opposes them. On April 3, the anniversary of the beginning of the Reign of Terror, bombs were exploded in an attempt to blow up Belmont Church, Glasgow.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SITUATIONS COMPARED

THE correspondent from London writes the *Protest* under date of April 2d of the enthusiastic reception tendered Mrs. A. J. George of the Massachusetts Association. Lady Havesham gave an "at home" at her house in Grosvenor Square at which the officers and friends of the National Anti-Suffrage League were present. The invited guests included the Dowager Marchioness of Headfort, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Chairman of the League; the Earl and Countess of Cromer, the Marquis and Marchioness of Tullibardine, the Honorable Lady Tryon, Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund and Lady Fremantle, Sir William and Lady Ramsay, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Frederic Harrison, Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone, Mrs. Lewis Harcourt and Professor Dicey. The devotion of these busy men and women to their convictions and principles was shown by their active participation in this meeting. Mrs. George gave an informal talk on the present status of woman suffrage in the United States in an endeavor to correct some of the impressions which had been widely circulated by the press of England and the Continent. During the last week in March bold headlines had declared "Women May Now Vote in Massachusetts." It is such misstatements as these that go far to reinforce the activities of the Suffragettes. Of course, it is extremely difficult for English men and women to understand that the method of legislative procedure in the States is very different from parliamentary procedure. It is always helpful for those who oppose the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women to realize that, although a somewhat large *area* of the United States has adopted woman suffrage, this area does not represent any large proportion of the population of the United States. The experience of a Western State with woman suffrage, or of a remote colony of Great Britain, give no clue to what might reasonably be expected as the results of the parliamentary franchise for women in England.

The London Daily Telegraph, in referring to the "female miscreant" who attacked the Rokeby Venus, calls attention to her defense which bears a striking resemblance to that of the thief who stole the Mona Lisa from the Louvre. The Richardson woman was defending the most "beautiful character of

Lady Tullibardine in a most forceful way spoke of the tardy repudiation by a few Suffragists of militancy, now that it was no longer fashionable, and she emphasized Mrs. George's contention that militancy is not a side issue of this agitation of votes for women, but is part and parcel of the woman's way when she would demand by force rather than compel by spiritual qualities.

Lord Cromer moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. George and urged that there should be no compromise with the Suffragists. "This wretched sex war," said he, "is making men less courteous to women and women more aggressive to men." Lord Curzon, in seconding the vote of thanks to the speaker of the afternoon, made a most generous plea for giving women every social and educational opportunity. "As to giving women a scope for their activities," Lord Curzon declared himself to be "a radical of radicals," but when it came to the question of granting the parliamentary franchise to women, of handing over to a controlling majority of women the shaping of Imperial policies, he announced that he was "the most antiquated of Tories."

Sir Edward Clark reminded the meeting of his challenge issued two years ago to the Suffragists to name a law affecting women and children which they felt could not be carried through without the woman's vote. The challenge has never been met.

It was a great inspiration to hear these men and women who are doing splendid constructive work in their various undertakings stand for the faith that is in them, that it would be bad for woman and worse for the empire to more than double the present electorate. The work of many of the women who were present on boards of philanthropy and in educational and poor law boards stands as a splendid record of public service done without political motive.

modern times." The thief was avenging his beloved country's wrongs and trying to restore to Italy the works of art taken by Napoleon. Both, no doubt, were victims of uncontrollable criminal impulses and invented a theory to fit their crimes. It is not uncommon.

LIFE

BY FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ.

How shall we build our lives? Shall we pursue
With those who crowd and throng the busy mart
Where rust will ever find the sword of Fame
And where no man may carve his name so high
But Time, with ruthless hand, will tear it down?
Is it worth while that we should know all things?
The ugly truths of life which once were veiled,
Because of modesty, are now disclosed
To guileless infant eyes. But is it best
To study Nature in her fleshly guise,
Denuded of all sweet poetic charm?
Methinks that this would be a dismal world,
Where dull gray clouds would weep perpetual tears,
If Crime's dark mysteries were boldly bared
In all the harshness of its varying moods
To suit the whim of our progressive age.

Methinks God never meant for us to pry
And probe within the charnel house of Life,
Else why the marvel of the silent stars,
The beauteous fabrics wrought of shade and shine,
The purple miracle of misty hills,
The breeze-sweet open spaces of the fields,
The charms which strike the tap-roots of the soul
And make of Life a sweet and splendid thing?
Then let us be content to shape our years
In molds of loveliness. When some lost soul
Is searching shadows for the dreams it lost
To lead it to the light which purifies.
Not to the darkness of uncleanly thought;
To make of age a blessed harvesting
And guard unsmirched the innocence of youth.

MRS. CATT'S REPUDIATION

THE EMPIRE STATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

"Votes for Women"

Chairman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

Treasurer, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany

Headquarters

1 East 41st Street

New York City

April 2, 1914.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge,

563 Park Avenue,

New York.

My Dear Mrs. Dodge:

I was notified by a Suffragist present at the legislative suffrage hearing in Annapolis, that a Mr. Underhill of Massachusetts had quoted me as having said "that in a few years a woman who was not self-supporting would be considered a prostitute." I at once wrote to Mr. Underhill to ask his authority. He referred to the famous (or, I should say, infamous) article in *Pearson's Magazine* which was prepared by Richard Barry. That young man did interview me and other Suffragists. I was out of the country when the article appeared, but the other Suffragists interviewed repudiated the article in every possible public way, except one, and repudiated also the statements which were put into my mouth, knowing my sentiments. The one thing they did not do, and which I now think ought to have been done was to have sued *Pearson's* for libel.

I have now written to Mr. Underhill to say, as I say to you, that I have never publicly or privately, by voice or pen, expressed any sentiment which by any honest person could be construed into any statement even remotely related to the one which Mr. Barry has put into my mouth.

I hereby repudiate officially the entire interview quoted in *Pearson's*, and I ask you to notify your speakers in the field that I shall hold them responsible if this misquotation is repeated. I am sure you wish to fight out this question upon its merits, and that you will be as unwilling to resort to misrepresentation as are we.

Believing in your fairness, I am,

Yours truly,

(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

April 9, 1914.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,

1 East 41st Street,

New York City.

My Dear Mrs. Catt:

In reference to your letter of April 2d, I quite agree with you that I wish to fight out this question of woman suffrage on its merits, and I do not intend either to make myself or allow my speakers to make any statements or quotations that can be questioned.

As regards the article in *Pearson's Magazine* written by Richard Barry, before quoting it, I sent a representative to the Editor of the magazine, asking if the article was authentic. He stated that no correction of the statement to which you have referred had been made to him. As neither you nor the other Suffragists interviewed had immediately repudiated the article or statements therein, I felt at liberty to quote them after a year had elapsed. Since you now officially repudiate the entire interview, I shall take pains not to have it quoted again.

Wishing to give your repudiation of this article the widest publicity, unless you instruct me to the contrary, I shall print your letter in the May number of *THE WOMAN'S PROTEST*.

Very truly yours,
MRS. A. M. DODGE.

April 11, 1914.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge,
37 West 39th Street,
New York.

My Dear Mrs. Dodge:

I thank you most cordially for your very kind letter. I shall be very glad to have you print my letter in the May number of *THE WOMAN'S PROTEST*.

Apparently there has been a change of management in *Pearson's Magazine* and the present administration do not know its past history. Protests in plenty were sent to the editors at the time the articles appeared, and each person interviewed, with the exception of myself, repudiated their interview. Miss Hay repudiated mine, inasmuch as I was not here to speak for myself.

The editor now writes that the magazine has taken a position for suffrage instead of against it, and has invited me to correct the statements made in that article, if I desire. I have replied that since you so kindly agreed to notify your speakers that they are not to quote from this article, I prefer to regard it as a closed incident.

Most cordially yours,
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

CHICAGO

(Editorial, *Washington Post*)

"BATHHOUSE JOHN" TRIUMPHANT

AN analysis of the woman vote at the aldermanic elections just held in Chicago presents some interesting features. The "flying wedge," of which so much was expected, seems merely to have driven more

firmlly into the political framework the wrought-iron ward material which has held it together in the past, but which was expected to make way for better stuff. None of the nine women candidates for office was elected, and in the famous First Ward the outpouring of gowned voters in anticipated protest against "Bathhouse John" Coughlin resulted in the return of that worthy representative of the uplift to the seat of power by a majority of four to one over his female opponent.

That the returns are significant of future unchanged conditions in poll results is argued from the ballot count from other wards. Of the eligible men and women voters, practically the same ratio exercised the privileges of suffrage. Thus, the effect of the women's votes, as such, if thrown in any definite direction against that of the men, would have produced radical changes in the personnel of control. Nothing of the kind followed. From all appearances, the votes of the ladies could have been eliminated without affecting the outcome in any particular.

The sequel of the Chicago aldermanic elections, therefore, can be hailed as confirmatory of any one of the several profound theories now being tenaciously held. Elsewhere it has been claimed that the purity of elections has resulted from a general betterment of the moral spirit, rather than from the interjection of the gentler sex as a factor in the issue. The confirmed cynic will declare that the women will vote as do their male relatives, or else be swayed as are the rest by the passing emotions which so often sweep men into and out of power. "Bathhouse John" himself, good fellow, and his friend "Hinky Dink" McKenna, will doubtless consider the count as a further vindication of their own intrinsic worth of place in the affairs of the city, as well as a tribute to those robust qualities peculiar to one who is merely a man, but which are not without that power which constitutes the attraction of the opposite, and thus succeeds where subtler forms of blandishment are employed to no avail. That men turn slowly to the lure of beauty in politics is due, no doubt, to the inertia of the male. But the conscious appeal of strength to women is more readily assured. At least, that is what all the modern novelists say, with their tales of the fascinations of "cave men" and "abysmal brutes." And if in ordinary fiction, why not in that more highly refined and specialized kind known as politics?

Beside the Socialists, who naturally voted solidly for us, because with them it is a principle (one of their young leaders was the soul of the campaign in our favor), we find also Democrats, Catholics and Radicals of all shades.

E. Gd. (Suffragist).

TWO STUDIES IN PATRIOTISM

THE American marines invested Vera Cruz on Tuesday, April 22d, with the loss of three of their number, precipitating what was considered virtually a state of war.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in session at its headquarters in New York on Thursday morning, were asked to send a delegate to a mass meeting at Cooper Union on the evening of Thursday, April 23, to protest against the war.

When they refused to send such a delegate they were told that their decision would indicate that they were in favor of war. The regular business of the meeting was set aside and the following resolution was unanimously adopted and telegraphed to President Wilson and to Miss Mabel Boardman, secretary of the Red Cross Society:

"RESOLVED, That we believe in leaving the decision of the policy of peace or war to the men of the nation, but in case of war we stand ready to render to the nation such service as American women have always rendered in like emergencies."

The following acknowledgments were received on Friday by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. DODGE:

The President very much appreciates the tender of services which you make in your telegram of April 23d. He is bringing your message to the attention of the Secretary of War.

(Signed) J. T. TUMULTY.

MY DEAR MRS. DODGE:

Many thanks for your telegram of the 23d just received. I will let Mrs. Draper know in New York, so that if a Supply Committee of women is organized there, as it may be later, she will know that the Red Cross will have the helpful co-operation of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. We are very glad to know that we have you back of the Red Cross to help in its humanitarian work.

With very many warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MABEL T. BOARDMAN.

The Cooper Union meeting on Thursday night was reported by the New York *Times* in part as follows:

Mrs. Perkins Gilman was the first speaker. She was applauded when she announced that she felt sure she was participating in the greatest mass meeting of women the woman's movement had produced.

Miss Helen Todd of California, speaking on behalf of the women of the suffrage States, warned President Wilson that, unless he made good his "words of peace," the women in the States where women had the ballot would see to it that his one term was his only term.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch objected to the "bristling" attitude of President Wilson toward the Huerta Government.

The resolution was finally carried amid cheers, with a few dissenting votes, almost entirely from men. The resolution calling for the withdrawal of the marines said:

WHEREAS, Since the world began women have given their best efforts to save human life, it is fitting that we protest in burning words against the tragic folly of involving this country in war with Mexico.

BE IT RESOLVED, Therefore, that this mass meeting of women call upon the President to put the noble words he has uttered in the past into deeds. We ask him to withdraw our troops from Mexico and thus with true courage and a high sense of honor repair the harm he has already done.

POWER

THAT the women of the nation hold the reins of the industrial world without the vote was brought out recently by Prof. Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, at a meeting of the Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

"Women hold a strategic position in society," he said. "Through the bearing and rearing of children, through their control of the central social unit, the home and through their control of the purse strings of the nation, women take a leading part in the drama of social progress.

"As spenders, women control the destinies of the industrial world. Did they choose to formulate their demands and make them felt through organized action and judicial spending, they would eliminate food adulteration, sweated labor, raise the standard of quality of all manufactured products, and in large measures shape the future status of American industry."

WOMAN'S WORK

BY ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

"I hold it the truth that no one can be
An excellent wife and an excellent mother
And have enough purpose and time for another
Profession outside. And our sex was not made
To jostle with men in the great marts of trade.
The wage-earning women who talk of their sphere,
Have thrown the domestic machine out of gear.
They point to their fast swelling ranks overjoyed,
Forgetting the army of men unemployed.
The banner of Feminine 'Rights' when unfurled,
Means a flag of distress to the rest of the world.
And poor Cupid, depressed by such follies and crimes,
Sits weeping alone in the Land of Hard Times.
The world needs wise mothers, the world needs good wives,
The world needs good homes, and yet woman strives
To be everything else but domestic.

"Let us labor together. I see many ways,
Many tasks, for the use of our talents and days.
Your wisdom shall better the working-men's lives
While I will look after their daughters and wives,
And teach them to cook without waste, for indeed,
It is knowledge like this which the poor people need.
Not the stuff taught in schools. You shall help them to think
While I show them what they can eat and can drink
With least cost, and most pleasure and benefit. * * *

Home, sister and duty are all waiting here;
Who keeps close to duty finds pleasure dwells near."

EXPENSIVE

TEACHERS

A LETTER

IT is curious to observe that as the feminists demand more and more recognition, women are losing ground every day as competitors in men's sphere of action. Is it possible that the Suffragists over-rate or regard as necessary services which are often only tolerated out of consideration for women? At any rate, the result of feminism is obviously not to advance women's place in men's occupations or industrial life, as women are losing positions on all sides. The teachers and waitresses and canteen-women are suffering to-day from the equality claim. They are being measured by man's standard of efficiency and according to that standard they are not able to hold their own. The Anti-Suffragists have always believed that it was only by maintaining a feminine standard also that women could work with men. Abolish that privilege and the women are driven out. The feminists are not very successful in their attempt to prove equality. They are proving the reverse with all their might at women's expense.

IT is somewhat astonishing to learn that while 28,674 school teachers in New England have declared in favor of woman suffrage, a far larger number, 45,123 to be exact, have declared against it. It has been asserted that the opposition to equal suffrage among women was confined principally to those that were dependent on men for their support, but here we find a majority of one type of educated and independent women opposing the extension of the ballot to their sex by a very pronounced majority. The only explanation appears to be that the teachers find so much in their profession to occupy their time and minds that they do not care to bother with politics and voting.—*Springfield Union*.

A 10-minute address was given by Mr. Gilbert M. Tucker, at the Anti-Suffrage headquarters in Albany, N. Y., at noon April 27th.

Nearly 450 signed the society's paper in the two hours after the rooms were opened and a continuous crowd read the bulletins in the front windows.

COMPETITION FOR 10,000 NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

MANY inquiries have come to us from the various States as to the "quota" fixed for each State, or the number of new subscriptions needed to make the individual State's share of the 10,000 new subscriptions asked for.

Mrs. Dodge stated at the hearing before the Judiciary Committee at Washington that there were over 100,000 women enrolled in the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Each State should, therefore, secure subscriptions equal to 10 per cent. of its own membership to make its "quota."

The PROTEST offers to State Associations or individuals 25 per cent. of the subscription price on every ten (10) new subscriptions sent in at one time. This offer affords an opportunity to aid the treasury of each association, while giving support to the National organ. Subscription blanks may be had at the office, 37 West 39th Street. They will be mailed upon request to anyone who cannot apply in person. The first report of subscriptions received will appear in the June PROTEST, too short a time having elapsed since the opening of the contest and the printing of the May PROTEST to permit of a report this month.

Which State will be the first to secure a total of new subscriptions equal to 10 per cent. of its total membership?

THE workings of the suffrage mind are revealed by this letter, one of many similar, though usually unsigned, letters the Association receives:

THE CATHERINE
1129 East Market Street
INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 27, 1914.
MR. ARTHUR M. DODGE.

MY DEAR MRS. DODGE: An English writer has one of his characters say: "Women will not hang together in works of construction." Your association is proving this fact beyond cavil. You are using your spark of power to try to tear down the big work of construction built up with such infinite care and hard work by the splendid, broad-minded women of the nation.

Your efforts are entirely for self-exploitation. There is not a flash of humanitarian great-heartedness in either your talk or actions. Your "home and mother" argument is weak in the knees. If you feel so much concern about "home and mother" why do you not stay at home and regenerate the system of life and reproduction instead of taking your time to organize against a noble cause that has far outgrown your puny efforts to annihilate it?

Do you think men can respect women who are traitors to their own sex? Does your association realize that it is a sister to Judas? In the face of the fact that millions of women are voting, are not your petty attempts to arrest the avalanche of woman's suffrage ridiculous? Both the Socialist and Progressive Parties have made woman's suffrage a part of their platform. What can you say in rebuttal of that fact?

The only men to-day who are opposing woman's suffrage are those who earn their living from liquor or vice. You are standing with this class of men. The nation cannot hope for good citizenship from this class, but it can and will wipe out its deleterious influence.

For further self-exploitation you telegraphed to the President that your association stood ready to render such service as women have always rendered in case of war. The women of the better cause—"Woman's Suffrage"—stand ready to do anything for their country that can be done. They are not lacking in either courage or patriotism, and if need be will shoulder guns and go to the front.

Hoping that God will open your eyes to the light of reason, fill your hearts with the ethic of humanitarianism and make your lives worthy in a better cause than you are now espousing, I am,

Your pityingly,
MAUD LANGSTAFF.

MRS. TAFT

(From a Philadelphia Newspaper)

A WORD OF CAUTION TO THE SUFFRAGISTS

IT is announced that Mrs. Taft, wife of the ex-President, has enrolled as a member of the Anti-Suffragist Association. This action is ridiculed by one of the Chicago suffrage leaders, in which she takes an unwarranted fling at the Taft administration, and remarks of the ex-President's wife: "Her personal opinion, though, can have little effect on the movement. Every knock of that kind is a boost."

The single impression which this remark will have on thinking people will be to produce the firm conviction that the woman who made it was not sincere. Everybody knows that if Mrs. Taft had announced herself a Suffragist the fact would have been heralded from one end of the land to the other as a matter for encouragement and enthusiasm. The Chicago woman's flippant, depreciatory statement is likely to do the cause harm.

As a matter of fact, every Anti-Suffragist, man or woman, well known or unknown, must be a possible convert to the Suffragist cause or it cannot win. To classify all women, from the wives of ex-Presidents down, who are not now Suffragists as worthless so far as their influence goes, if persisted in, will arrest the development of the whole suffrage movement.

Just at the present time in this country the two wings of the Suffragist movement are not moving harmoniously together. There is too much arbitrary militancy in the vicinity of Washington in handling the legislative situation, taking shape in the employment of dictatorial and bulldozing tactics, in dealing with members of Congress. There seems to be the feeling on the part of some of the leaders that a sort of manifest destiny has seized their movement, and as fate has ordained its triumph, a lot of fury may now characterize the campaign in behalf of votes for women. The women who are troubled with this hallucination are getting what would be called in connection with men a bad and dangerous case of the "big head."

"In particular, it may be said of individuality that, while the tendency to individualize is everywhere present in the organized world, it is everywhere opposed by the tendency to reproduction. For the individuality to be perfect, it would be necessary that no detached part of the organism could live separately. But then reproduction would be impossible. For what is reproduction but the building up of a new organism with a detached fragment of the old."—HENRI BERGSON.

UNION LEAGUE

THE Union League Club of New York, the leading Republican organization of its kind, by a vote of 3 to 1 declared against woman suffrage. The meeting was attended by over 200 members who acted upon the question after prolonged debate, the matter having been carried over from a previous meeting.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Suffrage Association, thought the action of so little significance that she gave a full column opinion on the subject to the *New York Evening Post*, in which she said:

"It is amusing, but is of little importance to us, for the opinion of the members of the Union League Club that woman suffrage in this State would be 'detrimental' carries very little weight, and merely shows the superficial knowledge of the subject of the gentlemen of the Club.

"This organization is composed of wealthy, elderly gentlemen who did splendid service when first organized fifty years ago for the purpose of safeguarding the Union, but they have not kept abreast of the times, and do not understand the woman situation of to-day as the stand they have taken plainly shows.

"As hundreds of women and men were marching down the Avenue in the annual suffrage parade last year, one of the Suffragists glanced up as we passed the Union League Club and saw a group of men standing in the window. They were white-haired, fine-looking old gentlemen, but as they looked out at the long procession of women marching by carrying their votes-for-women banners, their faces showed that the sight was incomprehensible to them. They looked out at us with the eyes of a past generation—charming old gentlemen whose type is fast vanishing."

LARGE MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA

A large and enthusiastic meeting of men and women, among them Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists and many who were on the "fence," was held in the ballroom of the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, on the evening of April 21st. The meeting was under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The speakers were Mrs. A. J. George, of Massachusetts, whose subject was "How Women Can Best Serve the State"; Miss M. Emmiline Pitt, editor of the National

Metal Trades Review, gave "The Wage-Earning Woman's Attitude Towards Suffrage"; "Woman Suffrage In England," by Mr. Alexander Wenyon Samuel, of London, England, gave an interesting light from the point of view of one who understands it. Hon. John A. Matthews, former member of the New Jersey Legislature, told of "Woman Suffrage from a Legislator's Point of View." On the platform were Charles Biddle, Col. R. Dale Benson, John Cadwalader, John Cadwalader, Jr., Charles F. DaCosta, Theodore M. Etting, William W. Frazier, George Harrison Fisher, Charles C. Harrison, Samuel F. Houston, Alba B. Johnson, J. Percy Keating, Sidney W. Keith, William B. Kurtz, Louis C. Madeira, Dr. Richard C. Norris, S. Davis Page, Austin N. Purves, Francis Rawle, James F. Sullivan, William D. Winsor, Francis Howard Williams, Sydney L. Wright, Henry Wharton.

The program contained interesting propaganda, which we take the liberty of printing.

The vast majority of women do not desire the burden and responsibility of the franchise, believing in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the franchise is a political privilege and duty, not a right, and that the duties and privileges given to women in government are, and should be, different from those given to men.

More can be done for the advancement of the highest interests of the race by the influence of women free and unfettered by political ties and obligations.

Socialism, such as would destroy individual property rights, personal initiative, endeavor, independence and family life, is allied with woman suffrage, and all women Socialists would use the ballot.

The National Suffrage Association does not repudiate Socialism or feminism. It puts upon its platforms, issues among its publications and recommends among its books for reading, writers and speakers who advocate these doctrines, and as Socialists point out woman suffrage must lead to this logical end.

It would be a constitutional outrage if woman suffrage were carried into a law without the real consent and deliberate demand of the majority of the women of the country.

Voting is not merely dropping a piece of paper in a ballot box, and more than voting is involved in the franchise. Women would lose, not gain, in power in public affairs, and would lose the rights, privileges and exemptions which as women and non-voting citizens they now enjoy, so that women themselves, the home, society and the nation would be losers if votes were given to women; therefore we protest and ask all patriotic home-loving men and women to join our organization and help us fight this peril.

NOTES AND COMMENT

(*New York Times*, Sunday, May 26, 1912)

VOTES WILL HUMANIZE WOMEN—MRS. HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW SAYS MEN FIX ARTIFICIAL STANDARD

THREE has been a recent article in one of our magazines called 'The Business of Being a Woman.' I defy you, in the respectable literature of the last 200 years, to find a more degenerate and shameful phrase than 'the business of being a woman.' There are just two cases, salient cases, of the business of being a woman, and that is, the Oriental harem, where a woman is imprisoned for one purpose, cut off from the life of her country; and the tolerated house of prostitution in our great cities and throughout our great country, where the white slave is imprisoned for one purpose and cut off, not only from the life, but from all the justice and the hope of her country. Now I submit to you that that is the business of being a woman and I will submit to you also, as a phenomenon of our modern life, that it is a hard choice to give millions of our women—the choice between being a woman in that sense and being industrial slaves."

BUT what is better than all that (a large collection) is that the Socialist Party has promised to move an amendment to the speech from the throne in which the King, in opening Parliament, states the program for the work of that session as decided by the ministers. This amendment will be an expression of regret that no mention of woman suffrage has been made in the King's message and it is the first time an amendment of this sort has been laid before Parliament. Naturally, it will not pass; because if it did there would be nothing for the Prime Minister to do but hand in his resignation; and that is why those who support this amendment will be only Socialists and perhaps a few Conservatives. Nevertheless, it is a great step forward for our cause, and will prove to even the most obtuse minds (with the exception of Mr. Asquith) that woman suffrage is really a national question.

—ISABELLA O. FORD (Feminist).

(It is the custom of the British Parliament to use the King's speech as a means of ranging over the whole policy of the party in power, "the Government," amendments being introduced by the "the opposition." The support of a woman suffrage amendment by Socialists is natural, as the red flag of Socialism is a suffrage banner.)

—EDITOR.

(*New York Sun*)

NEWPORT, R. I., April 24.—Mrs. James J. Brown, of Denver, who is at her home here, received the following telegram to-day from Mildred Morris, Denver:

"Regiment of Colorado women being organized for service in Mexico. Want you to head it. Will you answer immediately? Regiment will do service in Red Cross if services as soldiers are rejected. Great opportunity to show that women with equal rights with men are willing to bear war burdens with men."

Mrs. Brown immediately wired her acceptance.

"We have this sudden illumination before certain forms of maternal love, so striking in most animals, so touching even in the solicitude of the plant for its seed. This love in which some have seen the great mystery of life, may possibly deliver us life's secret. It shows us each generation leaning over the generation that shall follow. It allows us a glimpse of the fact that the living being is above all a thoroughfare, and that the essence of life is in the movement by which life is transmitted."

—HENRI BERGSON.

The Executive Committee of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage gave a subscription luncheon at the Hotel Biltmore on Wednesday, April 15th, at one o'clock. The luncheon was given in aid of the work.

Mrs. Francis S. Bangs was chairman of the committee and was assisted by the following women: Mrs. Fritz Achelis, Mrs. Ernest R. Ade, Mrs. John Turner Atterbury, Mrs. Francis R. Appleton, Mrs. Auerbach, Mrs. Francis Sedgwick Bangs, Mrs. W. Allen Bartlett, Mrs. Vernon C. Brown, Mrs. Charles T. Barney, Mrs. Samuel P. Blagden, Mrs. John G. Beresford, Mrs. James Abercrombie Burden, Mrs. George T. Bliss, Mrs. Baylis, Mrs. R. Fulton Cutting, Miss Cuyler, Miss M. de P. Carey, Mrs. Henry Ives Cobb, Mrs. George F. Crane, Mrs. Alfred Chapin, Mrs. Carnegie, Mrs. Cleveland H. Dodge, Mrs. Harold De Raasloff, Mrs. Charles de Rahm, Mrs. John Beverley Duer, Mrs. William Kinnicutt Draper, Mrs. Stanley Walker Dexter, Mrs. Ira Davenport, Mrs. James May Duane, Mrs. Robert W. de Forest, Comteess de Laugier Villars, Mrs. Philip A. S. Franklin, Mrs. John Farr, Mrs. T. H. Powers-Farr, Mrs. John Greenough, Mrs. William C. Gulliver, Mrs. E. Morgan Grinnell, Mrs. David H. Greer, Mrs. Nelson H. Henry, Mrs. E. R. Hewitt, Miss Eleanor G. Hewitt, Mrs. Charles F. Hoffman, Mrs. Charles S. Homer, Mrs. Francis

Burrall Hoffman, Mrs. Charles N. Harris, Miss Gertrude Hoyt, Mrs. J. Horace Hardinge, Mrs. Francis C. Huntington, Mrs. Edward Walsh Humphreys, Mrs. Harold Herrick, Mrs. William Pierson Hamilton, Miss Frances A. L. Haven, Mrs. Harold G. Henderson, Miss Elizabeth Stewart Hamilton, Mrs. Henry E. Howland, Mrs. Columbus O'D. Iselin, Mrs. George E. Ide, Countess Iselin, Miss Anna B. Jennings, Mrs. Morris K. Jessup, Mrs. Walter B. James, Mrs. Herbert Johnston, Mrs. Cadwalader Jones, Mrs. Stanton Floyd-Jones, Mrs. Hamilton Fish Kean, Mrs. Seth Low, Mrs. K. B. Lapham, Mrs. C. Grant La Farge, Countess Leary, Mrs. Robert R. Livingston, Miss Mary K. Livingston, Miss Charlotte L. Livingston, Mrs. David Lydig, Miss Caroline T. Lawrence, Mrs. Lewis Rutherford Morris, Mrs. Charles MacVeagh, Mrs. Harry Markoe, Mrs. John G. Milburn, Mrs. Francis Wismer Murray, Mrs. Charles E. Miller, Mrs. David Ives Mackie, Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., Mrs. Neeser, Miss Newbold, Mrs. C. C. Overton, Mrs. Peter B. Olney, Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn, Mrs. William A. Putnam, Mrs. William Barclay Parsons, Mrs. Albert Mansfield Patterson, Mrs. George B. Post, Mrs. Francis U. Paris, Mrs. Henry W. Poor, Miss Jessie Patterson, Mrs. James Roosevelt, Mrs. Edward Robinson, Mrs. Howland, Russell, Mrs. Geraldyn Redmond, Mrs. B. Aymar Sands, Miss Anna A. Sands, Mrs. Francis Lynde Stetson, Mrs. Henry Seligman, Mrs. Robert Sturgis, Mrs. Sharpless, Mrs. Lawrence Henry Schwab, Mrs. Henry W. Taft, Miss Amy Townsend, Mrs. Bayard Tuckerman, Mrs. Howard Townsend, Mrs. George Evans Turnure, Mrs. Howard Van Sinderen, Miss Van Buren, Miss Henrietta Van Buren, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Mrs. George W. Wickersham, Mrs. John Hobart Warren, Mrs. Royal Whitman, Mrs. John Dunn Wood, Mrs. J. Kearney Warren, Mrs. Charles J. Welsh, Mrs. James W. Walsh, Mrs. Armitage Whitman, Mrs. George Whitney, Mrs. Fred W. Whitridge, Mrs. A. Murray Young, Mrs. George Zabriskie.

Tables were arranged for eight, and 900 women were seated in the large ballroom.

The speakers were: Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage; Mrs. Henry White, of Boston, Mass., and Mr. Edward Sanford Martin. Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association, presided.

Members of several outside State associations were present, including Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Pennsylvania.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

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Questionnaire Everett P. Wheeler

Women and The Vote Everett P. Wheeler

Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound Prof. William I. Sedgwick

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) C. K. Chesterton

Votes for Women (10c.) Frederic Harrison

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) Harold Owen

The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) J. Lionel Tayler

The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) Ida Tarbell

The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00) Sir Almroth Wright

The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) Molly Elliott Seawell

Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25) E. S. Martin

The Unrest of Women (\$1.00)

Votes for Men (50c.)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) Grace Duffield Goodwin

The Response of Woman (40c.) Arthur W. Robinson, D. D.

Woman and the Republic (25c.) Mrs. Rossiter Johnson

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to

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